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CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| CRANE, R. S., and WARNER, J. H.—Goldsmith and Voltaire's 'Essai sur les Mœurs,' | 65 |
| GAUSS, CHRISTIAN.—Prophecies by Stendhal, | 76 |
| MUSTARD, W. P.—Shakespeare's 'Broom-Groves,' | 79 |
| BLANKENAGEL, J. C.—Evaluations of Life in Heinrich von Kleist's Letters, | 81 |
| HUSTVEDT, S. B.—'L'Allegro' 45-48, | 87 |
| THALER, ALWIN.—Churchyard and Marlowe, | 89 |
| BROWN, CARLETON.—William Herebert and Chaucer's 'Prioresses Tale,' | 92 |
| CURRY, WALTER C.—"Fortuna Maior," | 94 |
| PARKER, R. E.—A Northern Fragment of the 'Life of St. George,' | 97 |

Reviews:—

| | |
|---|-----|
| WILHELM DIRELIUS, Handbuch der englisch-amerikanischen Kultur. [F. Schoenemann.] | 101 |
| WILFRED A. BEARDSLEY, Infinitive Constructions in Old Spanish. [F. C. Tarr.] | 103 |
| GUSTAVE DULONG, L'Abbé de Saint-Réal. Etude sur les rapports de l'Histoire et du Roman au XVIIe Siècle. [B. M. Woodbridge.] | 108 |
| P. SELVER, Modern Czech Poetry. [Mrs. E. M. Jewett.] | 111 |
| L. A. SHEARS, The Influence of Walter Scott on the Novels of Theodor Fontane. [F. Schoenemann.] | 115 |

Correspondence:—

| | |
|---|-----|
| TROMBLY, A. E., A Translation of Rossetti's, | 116 |
| ASHTON, H., A Neglected Portrait of Mme de La Fayette, | 118 |
| WATTS, G. B., An Epigram Erroneously Ascribed to Voltaire, | 119 |
| CAMPELL, KILLIS, Three Notes on Lowell, | 121 |
| CHEW, S. C., <i>Lycidas</i> and the Play of <i>Barnavelt</i> , | 122 |
| WELLS, W. H., <i>Moby Dick</i> and Rabelais, | 123 |
| REEVES, W. P., <i>Romance of the Rose</i> , 1705, | 124 |
| THOMPSON, E. N. S., The Source of <i>The Courtier's Calling</i> , | 124 |

Brief Mention:—

| | |
|---|-----|
| PAULL FRANKLIN BAUM, The Principles of English Versification, | 125 |
|---|-----|

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GOLDSMITH AND VOLTAIRE'S *ESSAI SUR LES MŒURS*

In view of the interest which Goldsmith displayed from the beginning in the reading and writing of history,¹ it was natural that he should share in the enthusiasm which Voltaire's *Histoire universelle*—later to be known as the *Essai sur les Mœurs*—aroused among English readers on its appearance in 1753-1754.² In August, 1757, he contributed to the *Monthly Review* a long notice of the Geneva edition of 1756.³ Though he did not hesitate to point out shortcomings, he yet found much in the work to praise. "It would be superfluous," he wrote, "to add our commendation of those pieces, which, even in their imperfect state, have deservedly gained the approbation of the public. Voltaire's beauties as a writer are many and obvious; his faults few, and those well concealed under the dazzle of his abilities."⁴

¹ See *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs, London, 1884-1886, I, 337; IV, 53-54, 233, 254, 257, 275, 304, 342, 388, 461-62; V, 7-59, 129-42.

² *The British Museum Catalogue* lists three translations of the work between 1754 and 1759. It was uniformly greeted with approval by the critical press; see, for example, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXV (1755), 99; the *Monthly Review*, XVII (1757), 360; the *Critical Review*, XVIII (1764), 20; the *Dublin Magazine* (1764), pp. 589-91; the *Universal Museum* (1788), pp. 186-89. Concerning its popularity with the general reading public, see Crane, "The Diffusion of Voltaire's Writings in England, 1750-1800," to appear shortly in *Modern Philology*.

³ XVII, 154-64; reprinted by Gibbs, IV, 277-82. The seven volumes of the edition of 1756 comprised, besides the *Essai* proper, the *Siècle de Louis XIV* and a portion of what was later known as the *Siècle de Louis XV*, the whole extending to the year 1756.

⁴ *Works*, ed. Gibbs, IV, 280.

That this was Goldsmith's settled opinion of the *Essai* he made clear two years later in a short passage in his *Memoirs of M. de Voltaire*: "It was here [at Cirey], and for her [Mme du Châtelet's] use, that he drew up that system of Universal History, which, whatever may be its fidelity, is certainly a fine specimen of the solidity of his judgment, and his intimate acquaintance with human nature."⁵ And we may perhaps see a further expression of his regard for the work in the fact that he inserted in the *Bee* for October 13, 1759, a letter of Voltaire to Thieriot, one of the principal themes of which was the impartiality, love of truth, and zeal for human happiness displayed in the *Essai*.⁶

The fruits of this interest appeared most clearly—though the fact seems not to have been noticed by students of Goldsmith—in the lucid and engaging, if not very profound, narrative of English history from the beginnings to the accession of George III which Newbery published anonymously in 1764 under the title of *An History of England, in a Series of Letters from a Nobleman to his Son*.⁷

Goldsmith's procedure in writing this work is thus described by his friend Cooke in a series of reminiscences contributed to the *European Magazine* in 1793:⁸

His manner of compiling this History was as follows:—he first read in a morning, from Hume, Rapin, and sometimes Kennet, as much as he designed for one letter, marking down the passages referred to on a sheet of paper, with remarks. He then rode or walked out with a friend or two, . . . and when he went up to bed took up his books and paper with him, where he generally wrote the chapter, or the best part of it, before he went to rest. This latter exercise cost him very little trouble, he said; for having all his materials ready for him, he wrote it with as much facility as a common letter.

In one respect—the enumeration of Goldsmith's sources—this account is incomplete: to the histories listed by Cooke should be

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 340-41.

⁷ 2 vols., 12mo. Sixteen of the letters are reprinted by Gibbs, v, 251-347. For the proof of Goldsmith's authorship, see Gibbs, I, 482. and v, 250.

⁸ XXIV, 94; quoted by Gibbs, v, 168n, and by Dobson, *Life of Goldsmith*, London, 1888, p. 91.

added the *Essai sur les Mœurs*, apparently in the enlarged form which had been the basis of his article in the *Monthly Review*.⁹

To a compiler like Goldsmith, writing rapidly and desirous of retaining only the essentials of his subject, the task of condensing the crowded narratives of Rapin or Hume¹⁰ must often have seemed a highly ungrateful one. In such moments it was probably something of a relief to be able to turn to the succinct and pointed summaries of English history contained in the pages of Voltaire. Whatever his motive, it is certain that he kept the *Essai* at hand during the whole of the time he was engaged in writing the *History*, and borrowed from it material for twenty-seven of his sixty-nine letters, including his accounts of the character of Alfred the Great,¹¹ of the Hundred Years War,¹² of the Wars of the Roses,¹³ of the reign of Henry VII,¹⁴ of Henry VIII and the beginnings of the Reformation,¹⁵ of Mary Queen of Scots and the condition of England under Elizabeth,¹⁶ of James I,¹⁷ of the Civil War,¹⁸ of the state of society under Charles II,¹⁹ of the Revolution of 1688,²⁰ of William III,²¹ of the War of the Spanish Succession,²² and of the voyage of Captain Anson.²³ As he was writing in part at least for immature readers,²⁴ he was naturally most attracted by what was after all the least original or characteristic

⁹ See above, note 3, and cf. notes 20-23, below.

¹⁰ We have not thought it necessary to make an exhaustive examination of Goldsmith's use of these writers, but from a considerable number of tests made here and there in the *History* it would appear that he relied chiefly on Rapin, probably (in view of the similarities of phrasing) in the English version of N. Tindal (London, 1725-1731; five editions by 1759). For examples of his borrowings, see the passages cited in notes 27, 29, 31, 34, 36, below.

¹¹ *History*, I, 41-42. Cf. *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* [Moland edition], Paris, 1877, etc., XI, 310-11. All references to Voltaire are to this edition.

¹² I, 125-36, 163-74. Cf. XII, 13-28, 39-52.

¹³ I, 175-206. Cf. XII, 205-15.

¹⁴ I, 214-15. Cf. XII, 216.

¹⁵ II, 61, 68-69. Cf. XIII, 86, 92.

¹⁶ I, 238-57. Cf. XII, 287-319.

¹⁷ II, 73-80. Cf. XIV, 297-98.

¹⁸ I, 275-98. Cf. XII, 485-98.

¹⁹ II, 82-89. Cf. XIV, 302, 342.

²⁰ I, 303-07. Cf. XIII, 53-55.

²¹ II, 91-110. Cf. XIV, 354-411.

²² II, 8-55. Cf. XIII, 58-81.

²³ II, 157-61. Cf. XV, 312-19.

²⁴ See his note "to the Public" in the "new edition" of 1770 (Gibbs, v, 254): "... though the book is written to men, it will be a proper guide for the instruction of boys." Cf. the *Critical Review*, XVIII (1764), 111, and the *Monthly Review*, XXXI (1764), 248.

element in the *Essai*, the narratives of wars, revolutions, and political and religious struggles; but he did not altogether neglect Voltaire's general reflections (though he avoided on the whole those of too marked an anti-clerical tendency), his portraits of individuals, or his descriptions of states of civilization. His general method was to translate, with varying degrees of literalness, such passages in the *Essai* as fitted the plan of the particular letter he was writing or as seemed to him valuable for their turns of phrase, and to insert them into his pages along with his own reflections or with material from other sources. A typical example of the mosaic-work which frequently resulted from this procedure may be seen in the following passage from his account of Mary Queen of Scots.²⁵ The expressions italicized came from Voltaire; most of the others represented an equally literal reproduction of scattered sentences in Rapin:

This was but a temporary check upon Mary's power; *she resumed her authority*,²⁶ by the influence of her charms upon the Earl her husband, who gave up the murderers of Rizzio to her resentment, but they had previously escaped into England.²⁷ *One criminal engagement, however, was scarcely got over, when Mary fell into a second*:²⁸ the Earl of Bothwell now began to hold the same place in her affections that Rizzio had formerly possessed.²⁹ *This new amour was attended with still more terrible consequences than the former; her husband fell a victim to it. His life was first attempted by poison, but the strength of his constitution saved him for a short time*,³⁰ only to fall by a more violent death: he was strangled by night, the house in which the fact was committed being blown up with gun-powder, in order to persuade the

²⁵ *History*, I, 284-86.

²⁶ Voltaire, XII, 495: "La reine reprit bientôt son autorité. . ."

²⁷ This clause is a paraphrase of a page in Rapin (*History of England*, tr. by N. Tindal, 5th ed., London, 1760, VII, 265).

²⁸ Voltaire, XII, 495: "La reine . . . prit un nouvel engagement avec un comte de Bothwell."

²⁹ Rapin, VII, 266: "Now began the earl of Bothwell to hold in the queen's affection the place Rizzio had possessed."

³⁰ Voltaire, XII, 495: "Ces nouvelles amours produisirent la mort du roi son époux (1567): on prétend qu'il fut d'abord empoisonné, et que son tempérament eut la force de résister au poison. . ."

people that his death was accidental; but his shirt not being singed, and his slippers found near him, together with blue marks round his neck, soon confirmed the suspicion of his real murder.³¹ *His body was buried near that of Rizzio, among the Scottish Kings.*³²

*All orders of the state, the whole body of people, accused Bothwell of this assassination,*³³ and at last demanded justice upon him from the Queen, for the late murder, openly arraigning him of the guilt. In this universal demand for justice, the Queen, deaf to the murmurs of her people, deaf to the voice of decency, married the murderer of her husband, and prevailed upon him to divorce his former wife to make way for this fatal alliance.³⁴

*Bothwell was possessed of all the insolence which attends great crimes: he assembled the principal Lords of the state, and compelled them to sign an instrument,*³⁵ purporting, that they judged it the Queen's interest to marry Bothwell, as he had lain with her against her will.³⁶ *These transactions excited the whole kingdom of Scotland to resistance, and Mary, abandoned by her followers,*

³¹ Rapin, VII, 285-86: "However, the king was strangled that night. . . Then fire was set to some barrels of powder placed in the room where the queen's bed was, and the house was blown up. The people who came running in at the noise, were told at first, that the violence of the gunpowder had thrown the king into the garden. But as his slippers were found by him, as his shirt was not singed by the fire, and as some black and blue marks were seen round his neck, the people were not so credulous."

³² Voltaire, XII, 495: ". . . on enterra son corps auprès de celui de Rizzio dans le tombeau de la maison royale." Rapin (VII, 286) mentions the fact in similar language.

³³ Voltaire, XII, 495: "Tous les ordres de l'État, tout le peuple, accusèrent Bothwell de l'assassinat. . ."

³⁴ A paraphrase of Rapin, VII, 287-89. Note the following expressions: "Mean while, the people *murmured* exceedingly that there was no enquiry concerning the king's death, of which they openly accused the earl of Bothwell. These *murmurs*. . ." "Though she had believed him innocent, it was renouncing the *laws of decency*. . ."

³⁵ Voltaire, XII, 495: "Bothwell eut toute l'insolence qui suit les grands crimes. Il assembla les principaux seigneurs, et leur fit signer un écrit . . ."

³⁶ Rapin, VII, 290: "a paper, the purport whereof was, 'That they judged it was much the queen's interest to marry Bothwell, he having many friends in Lothian and upon the borders, which would cause good order to be kept. And then the queen could not but marry him, seeing he had run away and lain with her against her will.'"

was obliged to give herself up as a prisoner to the confederacy. Bothwell fled to the Orkney islands.³⁷

Often, however, as in the following example, Goldsmith adopted the simpler expedient of transferring whole paragraphs of Voltaire to his pages without any interpolations from other sources:

GOLDSMITH, I, 238

In this dispute it was the fate of Henry VIII. to be one of the champions. His father, who had given him the education of a scholar, permitted him to be instructed in school divinity, which then composed the learning of the times. He was, therefore, willing to give the world a demonstration of his abilities in this respect, and desired the Pope's permission to read the works of Luther, which had been forbidden to be read under pain of excommunication. Having readily obtained this request, the King, from St. Thomas Aquinas, defended the seven sacraments, and shewed some skill in school divinity, tho' it is thought that Wolsey had the chief hand in directing him. A book being thus finished in haste, it was sent to Rome for the Pope's approbation: the Pope, ravished with its eloquence and depth, compared the work to that of St. Augustine or St. Jerome, and gave Henry the title of *Defender of the Faith*, little suspecting that Henry was soon going to be one of the most terrible enemies that ever the church of Rome had yet experienced.

VOLTAIRE, XII, 287-88

La bizarre destinée qui se joue de ce monde voulut que le roi d'Angleterre Henri VIII entrât dans la dispute. Son père l'avait fait instruire dans les vaines et absurdes sciences de ce temps-là. L'esprit du jeune Henri, ardent et impétueux, s'était nourri avidement des subtilités de l'école. Il voulut écrire contre Luther; mais auparavant il fit demander à Léon X la permission de lire les livres de cet hérésiarque, dont la lecture était interdite sous peine d'excommunication. Léon X accorda la permission. Le roi écrit; il commente saint Thomas; il défend sept sacrements contre Luther, qui alors en admettait trois, lesquels bientôt se réduisirent à deux. Le livre s'achève à la hâte: on l'envoie à Rome. Le pape, ravi, compare ce livre, que personne ne lit aujourd'hui, aux écrits des Augustin et des Jérôme. Il donna le titre de *défenseur de la foi* au roi Henri et à ses successeurs: et à qui le donnait-il? à celui qui devait être quelques années après le plus sanglant ennemi de Rome.³⁸

³⁷ Voltaire, XII, 496: "Ces attentats soulevèrent l'Écosse. Marie, abandonnée de son armée, fut obligée de se rendre aux confédérés. Bothwell s'enfuit dans les îles Orcades. . ."

³⁸ Voltaire's source here would appear to have been Rapin. Cf. Tindal's translation, *ed. cit.*, VI, 183-184.

All of Goldsmith's borrowings from Voltaire in the *History* of 1764 conformed to one or the other of these two types; in none of them did he take the least pains to make the task of identifying his source difficult for a curious reader.³⁹ He did, however, translate with a certain degree of freedom in matters of detail, often giving a turn of his own to a sentence or phrase, and frequently omitting entirely characteristic elements of Voltaire's exposition, such as his occasional remarks on the credibility of testimony⁴⁰ or on the significance of certain facts for general history.⁴¹ With regard to style, he seems to have made no attempt whatever to preserve the distinctive qualities of Voltaire's prose—his fondness for "petites phrases" which "trottent, courent les unes après les autres, détachées," his rejection of "toutes ces lourdes façons d'exprimer les dépendances logiques, et de matérialiser, par des mots-crampons, les rapports des idées," his reduction to a minimum of "conjonctions, relatifs, et tous autres termes de coordination et subordination."⁴² On the contrary, he translated habitually into his own easy and flowing style, fusing two or more of Voltaire's short sentences into one, amplifying phrases into clauses, inserting connective and explanatory elements, and in general slowing up perceptibly the light and rapid movement of his source. To the illustrations of these tendencies contained in the passages quoted above, we may add the following:

GOLDSMITH, I, 307

This nobleman was the first who was ever created a Duke in England, without being allied to the royal family: it may be reckoned among the most capricious circumstances

VOLTAIRE, XIII, 55

Il fut le premier gentilhomme qui fut duc en Angleterre sans être parent ou allié des rois. C'était un de ces caprices de l'esprit humain, qu'un roi théologien, écrivant sur

³⁹ Such formulae as "says a foreign writer" (I, 277) and "as a fine writer remarks" (II, 21), both occurring in passages translated from the *Essai*, indicate perhaps a certain uneasiness on his part as to the legitimacy of his procedure.

⁴⁰ Note, for example, his omissions (I, 130, 286) of Voltaire's discussions of the use of cannon at Crecy (XII, 18-19) and of the authenticity of the Bothwell letters (XII, 496).

⁴¹ A case in point is his omission from the account of Rizzio (I, 283) of Voltaire's remark concerning the diffusion of Italian music in Europe during the sixteenth century (XII, 494).

⁴² G. Lanson, *L'art de la prose*, Paris, 1909, p. 155.

of this reign, that a King, who was bred a scholar, should chuse, for his favourites, the most illiterate of his courtiers; that he, who trembled at a drawn sword, should lavish favours on one who promised to be the hero of a romance.

la controverse, se livrât sans réserve à un héros de roman.

II, 14

The house of commons could not be induced to treat the Scotch, who were of the same principles, and contended for the same cause, as their enemies. They looked upon them as friends and brothers, who only rose to teach them how to defend their privileges.

XIII, 60

La chambre des communes ne regardait pas les Écossais comme des ennemis, mais comme des frères qui lui enseignaient à défendre ses privilèges.

II, 53

Every nation with whom the English had any connection, now courted their Protector's alliance. Among the number France solicited his aid against Spain. . .

XIII, 80

Toutes les nations courtisèrent à l'envi le protecteur. La France rechercha son alliance contre l'Espagne. . .

Enough has been said perhaps to exhibit the amount and character of Goldsmith's indebtedness to the *Essai sur les Mœurs* for the material of his narrative. It is more difficult to determine to what extent, if at all, his *History* was influenced by Voltaire's in the more general matters of interpretation and method. Without pressing the point too far, we may call attention to certain resemblances between the two works which may well be significant. In the first place, among the frequent passages of reflection and comment scattered through Goldsmith's pages, a considerable number developed themes already treated in the *Essai*. In both works we find the same scornful attitude toward the medieval clergy,⁴³ the same distrust of republican institutions,⁴⁴ the same sympathy with the aspirations of the middle classes,⁴⁵ the same hatred of wars,

⁴³ *History*, I, 36, 50, 83, 87, 91, 157-58, 235. Cf. Voltaire, XI, *passim*; XIV, 158.

⁴⁴ *History*, II, 8, 16. Cf. Voltaire, XIII, 178.

⁴⁵ *History* I, 79, 107, 113, 139-42, 199, 223. Cf. Voltaire, XII, 22, 68-71; XIII, 91-93.

conquests, and all "arts of increasing human calamity,"⁴⁶ the same commendation of monarchs who had devoted themselves to the task of civilizing their peoples,⁴⁷ the same realistic conception of the nature of savages,⁴⁸ the same skepticism regarding the value of overseas colonies.⁴⁹ No doubt many of these ideas were commonplaces of mid-eighteenth-century thought; in view, however, of the intimate acquaintance which Goldsmith had evidently formed with the *Essai* by 1764, it is only reasonable to attribute the frequency of their occurrence in his *History* to the influence of Voltaire. In the second place, it is noteworthy that the conception of the purpose and content of historical writing realized in Goldsmith's two volumes had much in common with that which found expression in the *Essai sur les Mœurs*.⁵⁰ His intention, as he stated it in his opening letter, was to write "not the history of kings, but of man."⁵¹ In pursuing this aim he reduced to the minimum accounts of battles and campaigns,⁵² multiplied "philosophical" reflections,⁵³ and gave a large place to non-political and non-military matters—to the condition and progress of trade and commerce, of manners, of literature, of the human spirit in general.⁵⁴ To do this was of course to conceive history as Voltaire had conceived it; and though the example of Hume may have counted for something in the general result, the analogies between

⁴⁶ *History*, I, 21-22, 91-92, 198-99, 213; II, 241-42, 245. Cf. Voltaire, XII, 22; XIV, 525-26.

⁴⁷ *History*, I, 41-42, 62-65, 67-68, 208-25, 299-309. Cf. Voltaire, XII, 491-93, 551-54; XIV, 243, 497.

⁴⁸ *History*, I, 15, 18. Cf. Voltaire, XII, 387-90, 424, and G. Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique*, Paris, 1913, pp. 367-73.

⁴⁹ *History*, II, 231, 234, 241-42. Cf. Voltaire, XII, 405, 407, 412, 417.

⁵⁰ On Voltaire's intentions in the *Essai* and on the significance of the work for the history of historiography, see G. Lanson, *Voltaire*, Paris, 1910, pp. 121-32, and Ed. Fueter, *Histoire de l'historiographie moderne*, traduit de l'allemand par Émile Jeanmaire, Paris, 1914, pp. 435-50.

⁵¹ *History*, I, 5.

⁵² See I, 111, 128-29; II, 26, 218, 245, 246-47. Cf. Voltaire, XII, 18, 53; XIV, 158-59.

⁵³ See the references given in notes 43-49, above.

⁵⁴ The most important passages are the following: I, 13-18, 31-32, 36-37, 48, 113, 130-31, 136, 169, 181, 206-07, 223-24, 295-99; II, 68-69, 130-33, 137-41, 152-53, 191-94, 226. Cf. Voltaire, XII, 53-74, 130-52, 241-50; XIV, 155-59, 497-564; XV, 430-35, besides numerous shorter passages.

Goldsmith's treatment of the development of civilization and Voltaire's were numerous and specific enough⁵⁵ to make it at least probable that in this respect, as in others, the *History* drew inspiration from the *Essai*.

In 1769, as a result of the success of his *Roman History*, Goldsmith was engaged by T. Davies to prepare a larger history of England.⁵⁶ The work appeared in 1771 in four volumes octavo under the title of *The History of England, from the Earliest Times to the death of George II.*⁵⁷ From the point of view of the present study, its importance is slight. Goldsmith, it is true, incorporated into his new work the greater part of the substance of his earlier history, including inevitably a large number of the passages translated from Voltaire. But he treated the old material with great freedom, revising its expression in nearly all cases,⁵⁸ fusing it with

⁵⁵ Goldsmith's account of the Black Death (I, 130-31) and part of his description of the economic life and culture of England under Elizabeth (I, 295-98) were translated from Voltaire (XII, 21-22, 485-86). His letter on the writers of the Augustan Age (II, 137-41; Gibbs, v, 343-47), though it was preceded and prepared by a similar essay originally published in the *Literary Magazine* for May, 1758, and reprinted in the *Bee* for November 24, 1759 (Gibbs, II, 443-52, 456; IV, 514-15), bears a striking resemblance in general method to Voltaire's chapter on the writers of the age of Louis XIV (XIV, 539-55).

⁵⁶ See Gibbs, v, 166n.

⁵⁷ We have used "The second edition, corrected," London, 1774.

⁵⁸ The following parallels will give some idea of his revision in its least radical form:

1771, III, 225

"The flame of sedition in Scotland, passed from city to city, while the puritans formed a *Covenant*, to support and defend their opinions; and resolved to establish their doctrines, or overturn the state. On the other hand, the court was determined to establish the liturgy of the church of England; and both sides being obstinate in opinion, those sanguinary measures were soon begun in Scotland, which had hitherto been only talked of among the English."

1764, II, 9

"The sedition past from city to city; the Calvinists formed a league, as if all the laws, divine and human, were infringed; while the desire in the court party of supporting their commands, and, in the people, of defending their religion, soon excited, actually, in Scotland, those dangers which in England were, as yet, only apprehended."

Cf. Voltaire, XIII, 59: "La sédition passa de ville en ville. Les presby-

new material borrowed for the most part, it would seem, from Hume,⁵⁹ and omitting or abridging most of the matter in the earlier work that bore on the history of literature and civilization. As a result of these processes, coupled with the fact that he made no fresh borrowings from the *Essai*, the traces of Voltaire's influence in his second history of England were faint indeed.

A word finally on the significance of the facts established in this article. The borrowings from Voltaire which we have pointed out in the *History* of 1764 do not perhaps teach us anything concerning Goldsmith's general methods of work that we might not have learned already from recent studies on the sources of the *Bee* and of the *Citizen of the World*.⁶⁰ They do, however, throw some light on two other matters which are not entirely unimportant. In the first place, they constitute a new and extensive body of material in which we may study, with some hope of attaining illuminating results, the detailed reactions of Goldsmith's mind to the thought and style of Voltaire; and in the second place, they add to our still somewhat scanty knowledge of the diffusion and action of Voltaire's histories in eighteenth-century England by revealing Goldsmith, whose two histories enjoyed a popular success which lasted well into the nineteenth century,⁶¹ as one of the

tériens firent une ligue, comme s'il s'était agi du renversement de toutes les lois divines et humaines. D'un côté cette passion si naturelle aux grands de soutenir leurs entreprises, et de l'autre la fureur populaire, excitèrent une guerre civile en Écosse."

⁵⁹ He names as his chief sources (Preface, I, vi) Rapin, Carte, Smollett, and Hume, but he adds: "I have particularly taken Hume for my guide, as far as he goes; and it is but justice to say, that wherever I was obliged to abridge his work I did it with reluctance, as I scarce cut out a line that did not contain a beauty." A very incomplete examination of the text confirms this admission. See *History*, III, 80-99, 112-31 (cf. Hume, *The History of England*, Boston, 1854, III, 439-40, 446-51, 455-57, 467-90; IV, 44-81); III, 175 (cf. Hume, IV, 273); III, 163-71 (cf. Hume, IV, 242-48); III, 177-79 (cf. Hume, IV, 279-80, 282).

⁶⁰ See A. J. Barnouw, "Goldsmith's Indebtedness to Justus Van Effen," *Modern Language Review*, VIII (1913), 314-23, and R. S. Crane and H. J. Smith, "A French Influence on Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*," *Modern Philology*, XIX (1921), 83-92.

⁶¹ On the success of the *History* of 1764, see Goldsmith's note "To the Public" in the "new edition" of 1770 (Gibbs, v, 252-53) and the *Euro-*

channels through which the substance and attitude of the *Essai sur les Mœurs* penetrated into the consciousness of the English public.

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PROPHECIES BY STENDHAL

That Henri Beyle—Stendhal—made certain prophecies is fairly well known. Virtually every writer on Stendhal for the last fifty years has cited his famous statement that he would be understood about 1880. The circumstances under which that prophecy was made are, however, not generally understood, and the citation is frequently misquoted. It goes back to Stendhal's letter written to Balzac from Civita-Vecchia on October 30, 1840. In that letter the author of *Le Rouge et Le Noir* three times refers to this date. His first statement runs: "*Je pensais n'être pas lu avant 1880.*"¹ A little later we read: "*Je songe que j'aurai peut-être quelque succès vers 1860 ou 80;*"² The reason why Stendhal believed he would be read and understood at this time is fairly plain. He always detested the declamatory and eloquent tone of much that was written in his own day and seemed to look forward with confidence to the time when Verlaine would write "*Prends l'éloquence et tords-lui son cou.*" So we find him saying: "*Tous les coquins politiques ayant un ton déclamatoire et éloquent, l'on en sera rassasié en 1880. Alors peut-être on lira LA CHARTREUSE.*"³ This was not a fleeting notion of Stendhal's, for he returns to it again in a letter to M. Désiré Laverdant on July 18, 1841: "*Ou je me trompe fort, ou la prolixité de nos grands prosateurs ne sera que de l'ennui pour 1880.*"⁴ This, then, is the reason why he believed he would be appreciated around 1880.

pean Magazine, XXIV (1793), 94. The *British Museum Catalogue* mentions six editions before 1821, and the list is evidently incomplete (see Gibbs, v, 250). An eleventh edition of the *History* of 1771 appeared in 1819 (copy in the Library of Congress).

¹ *Correspondence de Stendhal*, Paris, 1908; III, 257.

² *Ibid.*, III, 261.

³ *Ibid.*, III, 261.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 279.

It is not, however, generally known that this indulgence in prophecy amounts in Stendhal almost to a *manie*. One thing which is remarkable in these prophecies is that they are made in nearly every case with a definite year in view. So, for instance, writing on December 1, 1817, he says:

"De manière que, de tout ce qu'on fait en littérature en France, il n'y aura de bon que le point où on en arrivera en 1838."⁵

In a letter written March 21, 1818, he discusses the political situation of France after the final defeat of Napoleon. In spite of France's financial difficulties, it is curious to note that Beyle's prophecy is optimistic, even though it does involve bankruptcy in 1830:

"Au reste, la France sera bientôt le pays le plus heureux de l'Europe sans aucune comparaison. Ce qu'on paye aux *alliés* ne signifie rien. Nous ferons une bonne banqueroute des deux tiers en 1830."⁶

In matters of politics he does not confine himself to France but deals with the future of Italy as well. So we find him writing, for instance, on January 3, 1818:

"Retenez ce trait pour l'Italie de 1848. Les nobles y auront (et je m'en réjouis) l'influence réelle et constitutionnelle de richesses immenses."⁷

About a month later, April 22, 1818, he prophecies as follows:

"Quelle bonne chose que les mémoires d'un homme non dupé et qui a entrevu les choses! C'est, je crois, le seul genre d'ouvrages que l'on lira en 1850. On lira huit hommes de génie car il n'y a guère plus; ensuite du Saint-Simon, du Bezenval et du Duclos toujours: on en tire le jus de la connaissance de l'homme."⁸

Not infrequently he dips far more deeply into the future, as we see in the following reference to *Père Goriot's* lasting qualities:

"Le même esprit ne dure que deux cents ans; en 1978, Voltaire sera Voiture; mais le *Père Goriot* sera toujours le *Père Goriot*."⁹

It is not my purpose here to make a catalogue of this curious series of prophecies with which Stendhal's autobiographical writings and letters are filled. I do wish, however, to call attention

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 41.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 60.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 48.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 73.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 260.

to one which he makes and which according to him was to be fulfilled in the year nineteen-twenty-two. It occurs in *De l'Amour*, first published in 1821. In discussing certain phenomena connected with his idea of *cristallisation*, he takes up the case of the psychological change in the man who falls in love:

"Du moment qu'il aime, l'homme le plus sage ne voit aucun objet *tel qu'il est*. Il s'exagère en moins ses propres avantages, et en plus les moindres faveurs de l'objet aimé. Les craintes et les espoirs prennent à l'instant quelque chose de *romanesque* (de Wayward). Il n'attribue plus rien au hasard; il perd le sentiment de la probabilité; une chose imaginée est une chose existante pour l'effet sur son bonheur."¹⁰

Evidently the causes of this phenomenon are beyond even Stendhal's keen powers of analysis. With his extraordinary faith in the future of science, he, however, feels certain that the problem will in time be scientifically explained and he sets down as a challenge to physiologists, or perhaps rather to experimental psychologists of our time, the following note:

"Il y a une cause physique, un commencement de folie, une affluence du sang au cerveau, un désordre dans les nerfs et dans le centre cerebral. Voir le courage éphémère des cerfs et la couleur des pensées d'un *soprano*. En 1922, la physiologie nous donnera la description de la partie physique de ce phénomène."¹¹

In connection with his use of the word *physiologie*, it should be remembered that at the time of Stendhal's writing (1821) psychology had not been established as a distinct subject of study. In Sainte-Beuve's writing of the twenties—indeed, later—one still finds the word *physiologie* used where we should now almost certainly use *psychologie*. There are a number of passages in which Stendhal seems to be forecasting the developments of experimental psychology, and it is undoubtedly from them that he would now expect an explanation of the phenomenon he records. It would be interesting to hear from the psychologists as to whether in 1922 they are in a position to fulfill this prophecy.

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¹⁰ *De l'Amour*, Calmann-Levy, Paris, 1891, p. 25.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25, note.

SHAKESPEARE'S 'BROOM-GROVES'

In Shakespeare's *Tempest*, iv, 1, 66, the First Folio reading is,

thy broome-groues,
Whose shadow the dismissed Batchelor loues,
Being lasse-lorne.

Here many readers have felt a certain botanical difficulty—in the part played by the broom, as affording a shadow for the 'lass-lorn bachelor.' Some editors change the text, to 'brown groves.' Others find aid and comfort in the fact that there are various kinds of 'broom,' in various parts of the world. And, indeed, in this highly classical masque it may not be absolutely necessary to limit the poet's imagination to the flora of Elizabethan England. But even if one is to think only of the English broom, the fancy is not so utterly strange. Why not cite the high authority of Wordsworth? In his *Peter Bell*, 259, he writes,

When Peter on some April morn,
Beneath the broom or budding thorn,
Made the warm earth his lazy bed.

In his pastoral dialogue *The Oak and the Broom* the Oak says to the Broom,

For you and your green twigs decoy
The little witless shepherd-boy
To come and slumber in your bower.

And the Broom says in her reply,

When grass is chill with rain or dew,
Beneath my shade the mother-ewe
Lies with her infant lamb.

But there is another difficulty in this passage—in the unusual expression 'broom-groves.' This is sometimes explained as meaning groves where the broom flourishes, but it probably means simply clumps of broom. The use of 'grove' for 'clump' may not be very common in prose, but it is surely possible in poetry. Compare Milton, *P. L.*, iv, 982,

and began to hem him round
With ported spears, as thick as when a field
Of Ceres ripe for harvest waving bends
Her bearded grove of ears which way the wind
Sways them;

Pope's *Iliad*, ii, 181,

And as on corn when western gusts descend,
Before the blasts the lofty harvests bend;
Thus o'er the field the moving host appears,
With nodding plumes and groves of waving spears;

and Pope's *Windsor Forest*, 364,

And groves of lances glitter on the Rhine.

Milton has 'groves of coral,' *P. L.*, vii, 404; Tennyson has a 'flowering grove of grasses,' *Guinevere*, 33; and Wordsworth has even an 'ivy grove,' *Peter Bell*, 855,

A little chapel stands alone
With greenest ivy overgrown,
And tufted with an ivy grove—

a passage which should perhaps be compared with Spenser, *F. Q.*, vi, 5, 35,

And nigh thereto a little Chappell stoode,
Which being all with Yuy ouerspred,
Deckt all the roofe, and shadowing the roode,
Seem'd like a groue faire braunched ouer hed.

Ruskin has a 'grove of bayonets,' even in prose, *Praeterita*, iii, 2, 49; and Ben Jonson has 'that tall grove, your hair,' *Underwoods*, xxxvi.

Before leaving this passage of a highly classical masque, it may be interesting to quote a Latin line in which a similar difficulty seems to have been felt. In Calpurnius, *Ecl.* i, 5, 'Corydon' says, "Do you see how the cattle have stretched themselves under the broom"—

Molle sub hirsuta latus explicuere genista?

This is apparently the best reading, though some Mss., and some editors, make the cattle stretch themselves comfortably on the broom—

Molliter hirsuta latus explicuere genista.

That is, some copyist, or some editor, may have been troubled at the thought of cattle lying in the shade of the broom, and changed the text. But the context shows what Calpurnius had in mind; for the same speaker goes on: "Why do not we also retire under the shade? Why do we shelter our sunburnt faces with only a cap?"—

Nos quoque vicinis cur non succedimus umbris?
Torrída cur solo defendimus ora galero?

In Virgil's *Georgics*, ii, 434, the 'genista' seems to afford shelter for shepherds. This has been identified with the Spanish broom (*Spartium iunceum*), which "grows to the height of eight feet."

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EVALUATIONS OF LIFE IN HEINRICH VON KLEIST'S LETTERS

Heinrich von Kleist's unhappy life and tragic death lend unusual interest to a consideration of his views on life as expressed in his correspondence¹ which records the varied moods, the hopes and disillusionment occasioned by his struggles and disappointments. Naturally enough, the intensity of Kleist's emotional temperament, the passionate zeal and the consuming ardor with which he flung himself into his undertakings result in a wide gamut of changing moods, ranging from brightest optimism to blackest despair. Moreover, his evaluations of life are just as varied as are the emotions that give rise to them. Until early in the year 1801 life seems full of promise and of latent possibilities which merely need a stimulus to cause them to burst forth into a splendor that will insure happiness. After that, with the exception of comparatively few optimistic expressions, the general mood reflected in Kleist's remarks on life is a somber one. At a time when his *Lebensanschauung* has been shaken in its very foundations life looms up as extremely discordant with irreconcilable elements standing out sharply; changefulness is but too apparent and there seems to be nothing permanent or enduring to which he can cling. Kleist's passionate struggle to win fame in the field of drama, his despair over the fate of Prussia menaced by Napoleon, and the failure of his family to understand and appreciate him are all reflected in his estimates of life. Kleist's varied statements will be enumerated in chronological order against a background of events in his life which prompted them.

¹ *H. v. Kleist's Briefe. Im Verein mit Georg Minde-Pouet und Reinhold Steig herausgegeben von Erich Schmidt. Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig und Wien, 1904/05.* The following references are to page and line of this edition.

The keynote of some of the earlier optimistic evaluations of Kleist is sounded in the following autograph, the earliest recorded word from his pen, dated in 1792: Geschöpfe, die den Werth ihres Daseins empfinden, die ins Vergangene froh zurückblicken, das Gegenwärtige geniessen, und in der Zukunft Himmel über Himmel in unbegrenzter Aussicht entdecken; Menschen, die sich mit allgemeiner Freundschaft lieben, deren Glück durch das Glück ihrer Nebengeschöpfe vervielfacht wird, die in der Vollkommenheit unaufhörlich wachsen,—o wie selig sind sie! (442, 3). At the beginning of the year 1800 in the early days of his courtship of Wilhelmine von Zenge Kleist views life with optimistic expectancy: Daher hat überhaupt das Leben ein so hohes, ja das höchste Interesse, weil es gleichsam eine grosse Reise ist und weil jeder Augenblick etwas Neues herbeiführt, uns eine neue Ansicht zeigt oder eine neue Aussicht eröffnet (61, 29). This is the time in Kleist's life that may be characterized by his words: Wer einst an den Brüsten des Glücks den goldnen Traum des Lebens träumte (62, 24), for it is a period during which he firmly expected to win a full measure of happiness. This confidence in finding happiness is reflected in repeated emphasis² upon life here in the present over against idle speculation upon a future life, speculation which he considers merely an obstacle to fulfilling one's purpose on this earth. Yet even in this period Kleist is aware of the fitfulness and restlessness of life: Wir werden uns in diesem unruhigen Leben so selten unsrer bewusst—die Gedanken und die Empfindungen verhalten wie ein Flötenton im Orkane—so manche Erfahrung geht ungenutzt verloren (157, 15). Nevertheless his youthful optimism sees an ever present ray of happiness in life, one that is symbolized by the sun and by the rainbow (160, 20). Hence it is not surprising that at this time in referring back to his trip to Würzburg he shudders at the very thought of being torn away by death from all that is dear to him (160, 8), so strong are his hopes and interests in life. Love alone, he writes to Wilhelmine, makes life sweet (177, 32). Thus this early period of Kleist's life is one of wholesome enthusiasm, of joy in life, of expectancy dominated by the conviction that man must concern himself primarily with life here and now, and must actively engage in carving out his own good fortune and happiness.

² 127, 32; 128, 36; 129, 22; 129, 36.

A letter of February 1801 reveals a morose state of mind in Kleist that is entirely at variance with the general mood depicted thus far. In part this moroseness grows out of indecision about his life's work, out of feeling himself forced by outward circumstances into the life of a government official against all his inclinations. He cannot make up his mind to accept such office because in the life it entails he sees nothing but servility, loss of individuality, deference and yielding to the opinion of his superiors. In society he feels shy, embarrassed, ill at ease and constrained to be what he is not. He realizes that he is endowed with a penetrating insight into character that fills him with loathing at the emptiness and pettiness of the human heart. At the same time another disturbing factor has come into Kleist's life which makes life appear very complex and changing and leaves him casting about despairingly in search of something to comfort and steady him: Selbst die Säule, an welcher ich mich sonst in dem Strudel des Lebens hielt, wankt—Ich meine, die Liebe zu den Wissenschaften. . . . Liebe Ulrike, es ist ein bekannter Gemeinplatz, dass das Leben ein schweres Spiel sei; und warum ist es schwer? Weil man beständig und immer von Neuem eine Karte ziehen soll und doch nicht weiss, was Trumpf ist; ich meine darum, weil man beständig und immer von Neuem handeln soll und doch nicht weiss, was recht ist (198, 6). Kleist's shaken confidence in the attainment of knowledge as his aim in life gives rise to an inclination to live in the future, in hoping for whatever development time may bring, though he admits: Aber ist es nicht eine Unart nie den Augenblick der Gegenwart ergreifen zu können, sondern immer in der Zukunft zu leben?—Und doch, wer wendet sein Herz nicht gern der Zukunft zu, wie die Blumen ihre Kelche der Sonne? (199, 2). Kleist's disillusionment over knowledge as the guiding force in life reaches its climax in his reading of Kant. Not being carefully schooled in philosophy, he struggled in vain with the Kantian philosophy which seemed to him to demonstrate the futility of trying to arrive at truth. With his faith in absolute knowledge and ultimate truth shattered, his goal as voiced in the motto *Wahrheit und Bildung* is beyond reach. Life now is restless (207, 15) and discordant and causes him to yearn for the peace and quiet toward which all creation and all the planets are striving (214, 34). Kleist's inability to reduce his chaotic emotions and

desires to harmony vents itself in the words: Ach, es ist ekelhaft, zu leben (228, 1). The changefulness of life is strongly apparent to Kleist during this period of despondency: Aber zu schnell wechseln die Erscheinungen im Leben und zu eng ist das Herz, sie alle zu umfassen, und immer die vergangnen schwinden, Platz zu machen den neuen—Zuletzt ekelt dem Herzen vor den neuen, und matt giebt es sich Eindrücken hin, deren Vergänglichkeit es vorempfindet—(234, 26). Expectancy has thus given way to a feeling of nausea, of loathing at the thought of the multiplicity of new impressions that life brings. Yet in this same letter, even though prepared for the worst, he still hopes for a change in his fortune, for he says: Freude giebt es ja doch auf jedem Lebenswege, selbst das Bitterste ist doch auf kurze Augenblicke süß (238, 30). Nevertheless, his advice is to expect little from this life if one would avoid tears (239, 8). Life is dark, mysterious and its purpose is hidden from man (240, 23; 243, 26). Kleist finds nothing more loathesome than the fear of death (244, 25) and adds:

Das Leben ist das einzige Eigenthum, das nur dann etwas werth ist, wenn wir es nicht achten. Verächtlich ist es, wenn wir es nicht leicht fallen lassen können, und nur der kann es zu grossen Zwecken nutzen, der es leicht und freudig wegwerfen könnte. Wer es mit Sorgfalt liebt, moralisch todt ist er schon, denn seine höchste Lebenskraft, nämlich es opfern zu können, modert, indessen er es pflegt. Und doch—o wie unbeschreiblich ist der Wille, der über uns waltet! Dieses räthselhafte Ding, das wir besitzen, wir wissen nicht von wem, das uns fortführt, wir wissen nicht wohin, das unser Eigenthum ist, wir wissen nicht, ob wir darüber schalten dürfen, eine Habe, die nichts werth ist, wenn sie uns etwas werth ist, ein Ding, wie ein Widerspruch, flach und tief, öde und reich, würdig und verächtlich, vieldeutig und unergründlich, ein Ding, das jeder wegwerfen möchte, wie ein unverständliches Buch, sind wir nicht durch ein Naturgesetz gezwungen es zu lieben? Wir müssen vor der Vernichtung beben, die doch nicht so qualvoll sein kann, als oft das Dasein, und indessen Mancher das traurige Geschenk des Lebens beweint, muss er es durch Essen und Trinken ernähren und die Flamme vor dem Erlöschen hüten, die ihn weder erleuchtet, noch erwärmt.

Kleist's inability to fathom life is manifest again in the statement (249, 4) that man needs a lifetime to learn how to live and that human reason does not suffice to comprehend life nor the purpose of existence. His skepticism of all moral values grows

out of the incomprehensibility of life and reaches its height in the momentary assertion of a hedonistic view of life: Ja, unsinnig ist es, wenn wir nicht grade für die Quadratruthe leben, auf welcher, und für den Augenblick, in welchem wir uns befinden. Geniessen! Das ist der Preis des Lebens! Ja, wahrlich, wenn wir seiner niemals froh werden, können wir nicht mit Recht den Schöpfer fragen, warum gabst Du es mir? (250, 13). The contradictoriness which Kleist sees in life is present also in this letter, for he continues: Lebensgenuss seinen Geschöpfen zu geben, das ist die Verpflichtung des Himmels; die Verpflichtung des Menschen ist es, ihn zu verdienen. Ja, es liegt eine Schuld auf den Menschen etwas Gutes zu thun, verstehe mich recht, ohne figürlich zu reden, schlechthin zu thun. While seeking a quiet country place in Switzerland Kleist writes that he needs peace and rest more than he does life (271, 5); he finds body and soul in contradiction with each other and yet loath to part company. During his retirement on the Aarinsel near Thun in 1802 while writing *Die Familie Schroffenstein* Kleist expresses the fear of dying (287, 7)—a strange fear—before having completed his work. Yet this is not because he values life for its own sake, since he assures his sister Ulrike (287, 20) that he has no other desire than to die as soon as he has produced three things: a child, a fine poem and a great deed. His evaluation of life at that time is this: Denn das Leben hat doch immer nichts Erhabeneres, als nur dieses, dass man es erhaben wegwerfen kann (287, 23). A few months later during an illness of several weeks Kleist writes that he is praying to God for death (289, 28).

Four years later, in August 1806, Kleist's letter to his friend Rühle von Lilienstern contains less pessimistic reference to life and death:

Komm lass uns etwas Gutes thun und dabei sterben! Einen der Millionen Tode, die wir schon gestorben sind, und noch sterben werden. Es ist, als ob wir aus einem Zimmer in das andere gehen. Sieh, die Welt kommt mir vor, wie eingeschachtelt; das kleine ist dem grossen ähnlich. So wie der Schlaf, in dem wir uns erholen, etwa ein Viertel oder Drittel der Zeit dauert, da wir uns, im Wachen, ermüden, so wird, denke ich, der Tod, und aus einem ähnlichen Grunde, ein Viertel oder Drittel des Lebens dauern. . . . Und vielleicht giebt es für eine ganze Gruppe von Leben noch einen eignen Tod, wie hier für eine Gruppe von Durchwachungen

(Tagen) einen. Nun wieder zurück zum Leben! So lange das dauert, werd ich jetzt Trauerspiele und Lustspiele machen (327, 3).

In spite of adversities growing out of unfortunate financial conditions and out of the distressing political situation Kleist writes to his sister Ulrike in July 1809 that where there is life there must always be hope (392, 11). Again in August 1811 he writes optimistically: Das Leben, das vor mir ganz öde liegt, gewinnt mit einem Male eine wunderbare herrliche Aussicht, und es regen sich Kräfte in mir, die ich ganz erstorben glaubte. Alsdann will ich meinem Herzen ganz und gar, wo es mich hinführt, folgen, und schlechterdings auf nichts Rücksicht nehmen, als auf meine eigene innerliche Befriedigung (430, 6). But on November 9 he writes to Marie von Kleist: Nur so viel wisse, . . . dass ich sterbe, weil mir auf Erden nichts mehr zu lernen und zu erwerben übrig bleibt (433, 8). And on the following day Kleist writes to her: Aber ich schwöre Dir, es ist mir ganz unmöglich länger zu leben; meine Seele ist so wund, dass mir, ich möchte fast sagen, wenn ich die Nase aus dem Fenster stecke, das Tageslicht wehe thut, das mir darauf schimmert (433, 25). This same letter sums up Kleist's reasons for ending his life. Misunderstood and unappreciated by his family, he is branded as a useless member of society and unworthy of sympathy. Having become extremely sensitive, he would rather die ten times over than to suffer such treatment again which poisons his past and robs him of the joy he had hoped for from the future. The humiliation of Prussia by Napoleon, Kleist's disapproval of the conduct of his king and a feeling of aversion toward humankind all fall heavily into the balance and cause him to rejoice at having found a companion ready to meet death with him. In an ecstatic mood he writes: Du wirst begreifen, dass meine ganze jauchzende Sorge nur sein kann, einen Abgrund tief genug zu finden, um mit ihr hinab zu stürzen (435, 15). And again: Ach, ich versichre Dich, ich bin ganz seelig. Morgens und Abends knie ich nieder, was ich nie gekonnt habe, und bete zu Gott; ich kann ihm mein Leben, das allerqualvollste, das je ein Mensch geführt hat, jetzo danken, weil er es mir durch den . . . wollüstigsten aller Tode vergütigt (435, 24). He terms the world *eine wunderliche Einrichtung* (436, 30) and asserts that he cares nothing for its joys (437, 4). On the morning of his death Kleist's final words to his sister Ulrike

summing up his reckoning with life were: Die Wahrheit ist, dass mir auf Erden nicht zu helfen war. Und nun lebe wohl; möge dir der Himmel einen Tod schenken, nur halb an Freude und unaussprechlicher Heiterkeit, dem meinigen gleich: das ist der herzlichste und innigste Wunsch, den ich für dich aufzubringen weiss (440, 10).

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L'ALLEGRO 45-48

On the line in *L'Allegro*, "Then to come, in spite of sorrow," and its context Masson remarks, "This passage has been strangely misconstrued by some commentators." Whereupon he makes merry with the suggestion put forward by certain of them that it is the lark that comes to the window and bids good morrow; he prefers to think that "It is *L'Allegro*, the cheerful youth (Milton himself, we may suppose) that comes to the window and salutes people"—from the outside. Verity, who mentions those conjectures and two others, namely, that it is "the poet who goes to the window and bids the world in general good morning," and that "it is Mirth who is to come to the poet's window," is himself "afraid that the lark must be meant"; then, finding such behaviour on the part of a lark "entirely untrue to nature," Verity fathers Milton's alleged ineptitude upon Sylvester. Moody leans to the opinion that "Mr. Masson cuts the knot," yet suggests finally that "the reader is at liberty to choose."

If the reader is at liberty to choose, why should he not believe that it is Dawn that comes to the window? The construction in that case undoubtedly brings about a false parallelism that would be abhorrent to Macaulay; aside from the discord of infinitives, "to live—to hear—to come," there are no insuperable difficulties. The infinitives are discordant only to the formally schooled modern ear. If the word "immediately" (or, "subsequently") be put in the place of "then" and the passage be written as prose, "Till the dappled Dawn doth rise, immediately (or, subsequently) to come, in spite of sorrow, and at my window bid good-morrow," any syntactical roughness tends to disappear. In the sonnet *To*

Mr. Lawrence is to be found, for comparison, a similar construction,

What neat repast shall feast us, light and choice,
Of Attic taste, with wine, whence we may rise
To hear the lute well touched, . . .

The backbone of the extended sentence in *L'Allegro* would then be, "admit me—to live—to hear—oft listening—sometimes walking"; and, since hearing and listening are the same thing, the change from infinitive to participle would be less abrupt in this instance than in the supposed connection, "to come—oft listening." In short, such syntactical awkwardness as there may be in the immediate relation of "rise" with "to come" is of no weight as compared with the logical scruples which the commentators mentioned have expressed concerning all of the other readings.

On the score of poetical fitness there can surely be no objection to the Dawn's coming to the window. This is Milton's classical way of describing the phenomenon that Tennyson deals with in the line, "The casement slowly grows a glimmering square." No one is troubled by the personification of Dawn, or of Morn in a later clause. Here, however, Dawn and Morn seem to personify distinct phases of the morning; the actual sunrise appears to be a third phase—"Where the great Sun begins his state." Perhaps the latter two of these phases are recorded in the *allegro* movement of the Fourth Book of *Paradise Lost*, the vespers of Eve,

Sweet is the breath of Morn, her rising sweet,
With charm of earliest birds; pleasant the Sun,
When first on this delightful land he spreads
His orient beams . . .

In *L'Allegro*, if the matin triad be allowed, it may then be conjectured that Dawn rises first, straightway to come to the window; the youth lies in bed for a while or perhaps is moving about his room as he hears, at a somewhat later hour,

how the hounds and horn
Cheerly rouse the slumbering Morn;

and then he walks abroad in the early sunlight. This exact sequence, however, need by no means be insisted upon in justifying the poetical appropriateness of the Dawn's morning salutation. The reader may be the more inclined to give Dawn her due if he

considers the structure, the thought, the poetical bearing of another passage in *Paradise Lost* (XI, 133-45),

Meanwhile,
To resalute the World with sacred light,
Leucothea waked . . .

Johnson, captious enough, makes no alarums and excursions about the disputed construction in *L'Allegro*; the chances are that he was not conscious of a problem, since in his gloss of the passage he almost echoes the vexed turn of phrase. In his words the cheerful man "walks not unseen to observe the glory of the rising sun, or listen to the singing milkmaid, and view the labours of the ploughman and the mower." If the coming of Dawn will save Milton from grammatical durance, from ornithological heresies, or from puerile dependence upon Sylvester, she should be permitted to bid him good morrow, no matter how many hereditary semi-colons with flaming swords may lurk about the tendrils of the vine to dispute her access to the poet's window.

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CHURCHYARD AND MARLOWE

Thomas Churchyard's "tragedy" of *Shore's Wife*, first printed in the 1563 quarto of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, is admittedly the best work of that interesting but rather obscure Elizabethan. Mr. A. H. Bullen describes it¹ as "a smoothly written copy of verses," but adds that "it has been absurdly overrated." Doubtless Bullen had in mind the high favor this piece enjoyed in its own time or shortly after, for it is clear that Churchyard's work in general was half forgotten and half contemned within but a few years after his death in 1604.² Certainly it would seem that Churchyard has found but few readers since then; otherwise it would be difficult to account for the fact that no one seems to have noticed a certain passage in *Shore's Wife* which establishes an interesting link between that piece and another tragedy,—one that

¹ In his article on Churchyard in *DNB*.

² See Drayton's lines quoted below, p. 92.

requires no quotation marks. This second piece, written some twenty-five years after the appearance of *Shore's Wife*, is none other than Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*.³

One of the chief causes of Jane Shore's downfall, as Churchyard has it, was the "forced marriage" into which her family and friends had led her while she was too young to know her own mind. Her story thereafter, she says, illustrates "what lothed liues do come where loue doth lacke."⁴ Finally, in the twenty-fourth stanza of the poem, Churchyard makes her sum up this part of her case as follows:

The lesse defame redounds to my disprayse,
I was entiste by traynes, and trapt by trust:
Though in my powre remayned yeas, and naves,
Unto my frends yet needs consent I must,
In euery thing, yea, lawfull or vniust:
They *brake the bowes* and shakte the tree by sleight,
And *bent the wand that mought haue growne full streight*.⁵

So far as I am aware, no commentator hitherto has noted the obvious similarity between the lines I have italicized and the famous closing apostrophe of Marlowe's *Faustus*:

*Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight
And burned is Apollo's laurel-bough
That sometime grew within this learned man.
Faustus is gone: regard his hellish fall,
Whose fiendful fortune may exhort the wise
Only to wonder at unlawful things. . . .*

I have quoted the latter end of this passage merely to call attention to the fact that, in addition to the opening reminiscence of figure and phrase, the whole of it is conceived in the characteristic moralizing strain of the *Mirror*. There is always the possibility, of course, that parallels such as these may find their source in a literary commonplace, but I know of none that would account for the very close verbal similarity between the two passages.

Aside from this there would seem, at first sight, to be little to connect the dull pedestrian vein of Churchyard in particular, and of the *Mirror* in general, with the brave translunary things of

³ Written ca. 1588, printed 1604.

⁴ *Shore's Wife*, stanza 22, *A Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Haslewood, 1815, II, 466.

⁵ *Id.*, II, 467.

Marlowe's verse. It is to be remembered, however, that the *Mirror* enjoyed a steady popularity and influence until well into James I's time.⁶ Specifically, it is quite possible that Marlowe owed it something more than this casual reminiscence from *Shore's Wife*. Thus, the *Mirror's* brief sketch of the downfall of Sir Roger Mortimer⁷—the Young Mortimer of Marlowe's *Edward II*—may have aroused in him a youthful interest in this sad story of the deaths of kings, though it is clear that when Marlowe came to write the play he used Holinshed and other chroniclers as his immediate sources.⁸

However this may have been, there is every reason to believe that Marlowe could hardly have helped knowing *Shore's Wife*. That poem may have been overrated in its day; in any case it could not have won the golden opinions it did if it had not been well known. A familiar passage from Thomas Nashe is particularly apposite here. In his *Strange Newes of the Intercepting Certain Letters* (1593), Nashe refers to an old quarrel between himself and Churchyard, only to brush it out of the way with a generous tribute. "Mr. Churchyard," he writes, "I love you vnfaignedly, and admire your aged Muse, *that may well be grandmother to our grandeloquentest Poets at this present*:

Sanctum & venerabile vetus omne Poema.

Shore's wife is yong, though you be stept in yeares; in her shall you liue when you are dead."⁹ Who could resist the temptation to italicize the passage about "our grandeloquentest Poets"? Surely, if Nashe had actually had Marlowe in mind, he could hardly have improved upon his phrasing.

⁶ Cf. *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, 198.

⁷ In the story of "The Two Rogers, surnamed Mortimer," first printed in the 1571 quarto of the *Mirror*; Haslewood, II, 23.

⁸ Cf. Schelling (*The English Chronicle Play*, p. 36) on the *Mirror*:—"Although from its meditative and elegiac character it is unlikely that it was often employed as an immediate source, the influence of such a work in choice of subject . . . cannot but have been exceedingly great." Fleay (*Drama*, I, 17) hints at some connection between the *Mirror* story and *Edward II*. Comparison of the two shows clearly, however, that the earlier "tragedy" could hardly have influenced Marlowe other than "in choice of subject." See also the editions of *Edward II* by O. W. Tancock, p. xvii, and by W. D. Briggs, p. ciii.

⁹ McKerrow's *Nashe*, I, 309.

In his epistle to Henry Reynolds (printed 1627), Drayton held that Churchyard was "not inspired with brave fire"; that if he (and George Gascoigne) had

Liv'd but a little longer, they had seene
Their works before them to have buried beene.

In one sense Nashe would seem to have been the truer prophet. At all events, it is a striking instance of the assimilative and reminiscent powers of the creative imagination that Marlowe should have echoed so closely the figure and the phrase of Churchyard in writing his noble epitaph for Faustus—and, prophetically, for himself.

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WILLIAM HERBERT AND CHAUCER'S *PRIORESSES* *TALE*

The student of medieval sources, after assembling the incomplete materials which survive, usually finds himself compelled to construct an hypothetical version from which the existing documents may be supposed to derive. Such hypothetical sources satisfy the rational desire for orderly literary development; and for the investigator they have the further advantage that no objector is able to disprove their existence. Rarely, however, does the constructor of hypothetical sources have the good fortune to find his theories confirmed by actual documents. It was, therefore, with the liveliest satisfaction that the present writer came upon a brief Latin note in Phillipps MS. 8336 which affords important confirmation of the hypothetical version laboriously constructed as the probable source for Chaucer's *Prioresses Tale*.¹

A comparison, in the study referred to, of some thirty analogues of the Tale told by the Prioress disclosed the fact that a special group (Group C) had been affected by the story of Hugh of Lincoln and had borrowed from this source the funeral scene and the tragical ending. Moreover, there was reason to believe

¹ Carleton Brown, *A Study of the Miracle of Our Lady told by Chaucer's Prioress*. Chaucer Soc., 2nd Ser. 45. London 1910.

that this modification of the original form of the miracle made its appearance before the end of the thirteenth century. It was noted further that four of the versions of Group C agree with Chaucer's form of the story in the following particulars which are not met with outside this special sub-group: (1) The anthem sung by the little martyr was *Alma redemptoris mater* instead of *Gaude Maria* as in the earlier versions of the miracle; (2) Our Lady, coming to the body of the little clerk as it lay in the jakes, placed in his mouth either a lily, a white stone, a gem, or a grain; and, through this object placed in his mouth, he was enabled to sing, and continued to sing until the object was finally removed.

The conclusion toward which the agreement of these versions pointed was stated in the following words:

The comparison of the four "magical object" versions, therefore, furnishes evidence, amounting almost to demonstration, that there existed a common original from which these closely-related versions derived. This common original, now, was in all probability a Latin version written in England.²

Although justified, perhaps, on logical grounds, this hypothesis was rendered less satisfactory by the late date of the versions in question, none of which is earlier than the *Prioresses Tale*, and some of which are much later.³ For this reason the testimony of Friar William Herebert, who died in the year 1333, is particularly welcome.

Phillips MS. 8336 contains a series of metrical translations to which Herebert's name is attached, and which apparently were written in the MS. by his own hand. Among them is a version of *Alma redemptoris mater* (fol. 205b), to which is added the following note:

Hic nota de filio vidue qui semper eundo ad scholas et redeundo de scholis consuevit istam antiphonam decantare; propter quod a iudeis per quos transitum fecit 'puer marie' dicebatur. quem ipsi tandem occiderunt et in cloacam proiecerunt, qui tamen a cantu non cessauit, &c.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

³ The Vernon MS. was not written before 1385; Sidney Sussex MS. 95 was written in 1409; the composition of the *Fortalicium Fidei* is assigned to 1459; and Trinity Camb. MS. O. 9. 38 belongs to the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The outline of the miracle here given is exasperatingly meagre. It was intended, of course, merely to call to mind a pulpit illustration well suited to the context. The miracle itself, as the "&c" clearly shows, was one which was familiar. One may regret that Friar Herebert did not include mention of the object which Our Lady placed in the mouth of the little martyr, but the omission of this detail is not surprising in such a brief and incomplete outline.

So far as it goes, the story agrees perfectly with the narrative of the Prioress. And it gives us positive assurance that the form of the miracle represented by the "*Alma redemptoris* sub-group," of which heretofore the earliest known examples have been Chaucer's version and the poem in the Vernon MS., was already recorded as a well-known story more than half a century before the *Prioresses Tale* was composed.

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"FORTUNA MAIOR"

But whan the cok, commune astrologer.
 Gan on his brest to bete, and after crowe,
 And Lucifer, the dayes messenger,
 Gan for to ryse, and out hir bemes throwe;
 And estward roos, to him that coude it knowe,
Fortuna maior.

Troilus, III, 1415 ff.

In his explanation of this Chaucerian passage Skeat is, I think, following G. Douglas into partial error. Says he: "*Lucifer*, the morning star, the planet Venus. *Fortuna maior*, the planet Jupiter. Mars and Saturn were supposed to have an *evil* influence; the Sun, Mercury, and Moon, had no great influence either way; whilst Jupiter and Venus had a good influence, and were therefore called, respectively, *Fortuna maior* and *Fortuna minor*." The application of these epithets to Jupiter and Venus, respectively, becomes general only after Chaucer's time; the earlier astrologers apparently know no such nomenclature.

For example, in one edition of Alchabitius I find the planets described in part as follows: Saturnus est masculinus, malus,

¹ Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, II, 482. He is here quoting from an astrological note found in the works of Gavin Douglas, ed. Small, II, 288.

diurnus . . . Jupiter est fortuna, masculus, diurnus . . . Mars masculinus, nocturnus, malus . . . Sol per aspectum fortuna . . . Venus fortuna, foemina, nocturna . . . Mercurius commixtus, masculinus, diurnus . . . Luna fortuna, foemina, nocturna . . ."² It will be seen that the "infortunes" are Saturn and Mars; Sun and Mercury are "fortunes" or "infortunes" according to the company they keep; and Venus, Moon, and Jupiter are "fortunes". In another edition of Alchabitius, however, we do indeed find the characterization, "Jupiter fortuna maior, masculus, diurnus . . .", though Venus is simply, "fortuna, foemina, diurnus", and Moon "fortuna, nocturna . . ."³ It is only as late as 1677 that I find the classification to be as Skeat says: "For Jupiter is naturally benevolent, good and friendly to Man and is *Fortuna Major*, and Venus is *Fortuna Minor*, and Mercury and Sol are indifferent, but Saturn and Mars are enemies to the Nature of Man . . . and Saturn is *Infortuna Major*, and Mars is *Infortuna Minor*."⁴ But Chaucer could scarcely have known such a characterization.

In fact, the *fortuna maior* of Chaucer probably has nothing to do with the planets "fortune" or "infortune." It is rather the name, I believe, of one of the sixteen figures in the astrological science of geomancy. As Skeat has already shown, each of these figures has a name, belongs to an "element," possesses a Zodiacal sign, and is attributed to a planet.⁵ Now *Fortuna maior* is in form *even-even-odd-odd*,⁶ has as its element, earth; sign, Leo; planet, Sun. *Fortuna minor*—in form *odd-odd-even-even*—is also attributed to the Sun. Regarding the relative importance of these two geometric figures and their relation to the Sun, Henry Corne-

² *Libellus Ysagogicus* Abdilazi . . . qui dicitur Alchabitius, Venetiis, 1491, sig. bb,ff. See also Albohazen Haly filii Abenragel *Libri de iudiciis astrorum*, Basileae, 1551, "Venus est . . . nocturna, fortunata . . .; Jvpiter est temperatus, fortuna per aspectum. . .," p. 10; Guido Bonatus, *De astronomia tractatus X*, Basileae, 1550, "Jupiter est fortuna, masculinus, etc. . .; Venus est fortuna. . .," col. 108.

³ *Introductorium Alchabitii Arabici ad Suentiam iudicalem astronomiae*, Venetiis, 1473.

⁴ Richard Saunders, *The Astrological Judgment and Practice of Physic*, London, 1677, General Judgments, p. 47.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, v, 82; *The Academy*, March 2, 1889.

⁶ See Skeat, v, 82, for method of forming the figures.

lius Agrippa says: "Fortuna maior atque minor solem referentes; sed prima solem diurnum & in dignitatibus suis constitutum; altera autem nocturnum, vel in minoribus dignitatibus constitutum."⁷ That is to say, *fortuna maior* is the diurnal geomantic figure of the Sun and may, therefore, be said to represent that planet in his splendor and glory.

With this explanation Chaucer's allusion becomes clear. On the morning after Troilus and Creseyde have had their first night together, the lovers hear that astrologer, the cock, crowing in prophecy of day-break; Lucifer, the day's messenger, rises and throws out her beams; and after that there comes up in the East *Fortuna maior*. The *Fortuna maior*, therefore, that rises on this sorrowful morning—"to him that coude it knowe"⁸—is neither more nor less than the Sun.

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⁷ *In Geomanticam disciplinam lectura*, in *Opera*, Lugduni, 1531, p. 407. There follows (pp. 412-425) an account of the various figures in the twelve astrological houses; for the significance of *Fortuna maior* in any house, see pp. 412-13. Agrippa's work on geomancy—Skeat seems to have known only the table of figures in cap. 48, lib. II of the *De occulta philosophia*, in *Opera*, pp. 225-6—is apparently based on the *Liber scientie arlienalís de iudiciis geomansie* ab Alpharino filio Abrahe Judeo editus et a Platone de Hebreico sermone in Latinum translatus, in MS. Arundel 66, British Museum, where *fortuna maior* in the twelve houses may be found in fol. 269. MS. Harl. 2404 contains two other tracts on geomancy: (1) *Haec est Geomancia Indëana*, que vocatur *Filia Astronomie*; quam fecit vnus Sapientum Indie; (2) *Geomancia Indëana*. MS. Harl. 4166 contains one other tract. The translation of a work on geomancy by Gerardus Cremonensis may be found in MS. Sloane 310, fol. 15b; published in the *Opera* of Agrippa, pp. 559-573; and translated into French, *Geomancie Astronomique de Gerard de Cremona*, by Sieur de Salerne, Paris, 1679. An English translation of Agrippa's work is contained in *Henry Cornelius Agrippa, His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, by Robert Turner, London, 1655. Cf. also Le Sieur de Peruchio, *La Chiromance, la Phisionomie, et la Geomance*, Paris, 1657, in which he gives the significance of *fortuna maior* in nativities, p. 195; and Richard Saunders, *Physiognomie, and Chiromancie, Metoposcopie*, etc., London, 1653, p. 156.

⁸ Judging from this remark aside and from the fact that in attributing "Puella" and "Rubeus" to Mars (C. T., A, 2045) when it should be "Puer" and "Rubeus," I should say that Chaucer's knowledge of geomancy was extremely limited and inaccurate. See my article, "Astrologising the Gods," in a forthcoming number of *Anglia*.

A NORTHERN FRAGMENT OF THE LIFE OF ST. GEORGE

The University of Minnesota ms. Z. 822, N. 81 (formerly Phillips 8122) contains a hitherto unprinted fragment of the Life of St. George. The body of this ms., as is well known, contains a *Northern Homily Collection* written in a hand of the beginning of the fifteenth century. The St. George fragment appears as an insertion at the very end of the ms., following an insertion of the Life of St. Anne. It is in the same hand as the remainder of the ms. and was originally, so far as I can judge, a complete version of the St. George legend; but several leaves have been torn away at the end of the book, leaving a fragment of only 130 lines of the Life of St. George. It is interesting as a variant text, in the northern dialect, of the Life of St. George found in the *South English Legendary*.

The source of this fragment, as one would expect, is Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*. Beginning with the first paragraph of the legend as it is recorded in the *Legenda Aurea*, the author follows his source sentence by sentence.¹ The end of the fragment comes with "rex autem in honorem beatae Mariae et beati Georgii ecclesiam mirae magnitudinis construxit," at the bottom of page 261 of the original.

De Sancto Georgio

- f. 215b Saynt george þe gude knyght: a hayly man was he
 Geten & borne in þe lande: of capodse full fre
 All fals godds he forsoke: and toke crystyndome
 He lufede wele Ihesu cryste: & a haly man become 4
 Þis hayly man come on a tyme: in tyll a contre
 In þe provynce of lyby: þor was a gret cyte
 Gylona þe cyte hyght: als we fynde in story
 A gret water þer was: rennand faste þer by 8
 And in þe grevys of þe banke: ryght nerhand þe toun
 Þor had wonned many a day: a wonder fowle dragone
 He was both vggely & grete: and so lothely to se
 Armed men when þai hym se: away for ferd wald fle 12
 In þat contre wyd abowte: he dyde sorow enoghe

¹ Reference is to the 1890 edition of *Legenda Aurea*, by Dr. Th. Graesse. The *Life of Saint George* begins on page 260.

- & wit þe wynd of hys mowth: many a man he sloghe
 To þe walles of þe cite: ylke a day he wente
 & thorow þe blaste of hys mowth: many a man þer
 he schente 16
 Þe cytesyns toke þe rede: when þ^y herd were stede
 Þis dragon spared noþer beste no man: no day to he
 wer fede
 Þai ordand emang þam all: ylke a day to take
 Two schepe to gyffe hym to hys mete: hys males for
 to slake 20
 So lang þai fede hym wit þer schepe: þat þai began
 to fayle
 Þe kynge of þe cite & all þe folke: þerof toke consayle
 Ffor þer bestes & þer schepe: wer nerhand owt spend
 Of þe folke bud þam nede: vnto þis dragone send 24
 Ffor þi þai all at one assent: þai ordand thoru þe town
 Of þe childer ylke a day one: to send to þis foule
 dragon
 Wit a schep whyles þai myghte laste: & þerto wer
 þai sworne
 Ryche men childer ne pur: þat none suld be for borne 28
 Bot ylke a day kavell to caste: & whame so it fell tyll
 He & hys schepe sulde be sende forthe: þis dragon
 for to styll
 Knafe ne mayden sparde þai none: to wham þe
 kavell fell
 Elles had þai all bene forlorne: wit þis dragon off
 hell 32
 So lang tyme þai vsede thys: þat dole yt was to se
 þat þe childer began to faile: faste in þat cite
 A day as þai kavell caste: ffor þer was lefte bot foyne
 Apon þe kyngs doghter yt fell: & he hade bot his
 one 36
 And thorw hys awne ordynance: & all men of þe towne
 Hys doghter was forjugeide: to þis dragone
 Þen made þe kynge srow enoghe: to þam he mad hys
 mone
 Lettys my doghter he sayd leve: sen I haue bot hyr
 one 40
 Halfe my kyngdome I sall þow gyfe: wit castell &
 wit towre
 & als mekyll as þhe wyll take: of golde & of tresovr
 f. 216a Þai answerd all wit one voce: syr kynge þu spekys
 fro noght
 For þu sall hald þe ordynance: þat þi selfe has
 wroght 44
 & owr childer er all spende: & þu walde now hafe þine

Bot þu do do als we hafe doyne: we sall neuer fyne
 To we hafe byrnte þi palas: & þi selfe also
 þan begane þe kynge: to grone & grete all for wo 48
 & to hys doghter he sayde: alas my frely fode
 þat a fowl dragon: sall drynke þi gentyll blode
 What sall I do or say: or what tyme sall I se
 þat þu to kynge or kyngs son: sulde rychly spoused be 52
 Vnto þe folke doylefully: wit sory herte gan he pray
 þat he myght hafe hyr vnlyfe: vnto þe aghtande day
 þai graunted hym for he was kynge: to aghen dayes
 wer gon
 þe dragon to þe walles come: & sloghe þen many one 56
 When þe dayes wer passede owte: þe folke in full
 grete tene
 Come to þe kynge & sayde: þe folke dyed vp clene
 All in defawte of hys doghter: þat he held so lange
 For þi hyr bude be lyfe: vnto þe dragon gange 60
 þe kynge saghe no nodyr boite: hys handis gon he
 wrynge
 & on hys doghter gerte he do: rych qwenes clethyng
 & hailed hyr full sore gretand: and sayde petusly
 I wende hafe norische þerin my hall: knyghts of þi 64
 body
 I wende I sulde wit myrth: hafe bede to þe weddyng
 & calde to þi bridell: prince duke and kynge
 þi hall to dyght wit clothes of golde: & many of
 ryche ston
 & all maner of mynstralsy: to her wit in þer wone 68
 & þu apon þi hede suld have had: full ryall crowne
 Now þu gose sweloghede to be: of a fowle dragone
 When he for sorow of hys herte: wordes myght speke
 no mo
 He blyssyd hyr & kyssed hyr ofte: & forth he lete 72
 hyr go
 To þe þete þai hyr lede: and soyne scho was pute owte
 & well toward þis dragon: in herte scho had gret dowte
 Als gode walde þen it befell: sayn george com þer
 rydande
 & saw þat woman þat was so fayr: for ferde stode 76
 gretande
 Damsell quod george: why grets þu tell me I þe pray
 Lefe þonge man scho sayd: haste þe fast away
 Or elles þu mon be lefe: here wit me be ded
 Tell me fyrste quod george: whame þu byds in þis 80
 stede
 & have no dred þu swete thyng: for I sall note lefe þe
 To wyte all þi myschefe: yfe any helpe may be

- þe folke apon þe walles stod: full thyke about þe toun
 To se how þis maydyn suld be: swalughed wit þe
 dragon 84
- f. 216b Whar eftyr loke þonde folke *quod* george: why wonder
 þai one þe
 To wytte what þis bemenes: wit her sall I be
 Certe sir *quod* scho þen: ffull wele persave I nowe
 þat þu erte a worthy mane: & herdy herte has þu 88
 Bot lefe þonge man why comets þu: to dee her wit me
 Take þi hors belyfe scho sayd: & faste hythen þu fle
 He sayd be hym þat ys my lorde: hythen sall I noȝt go
 To þu hase me told: þe cause of all þi wo 92
 þis maydyn tolde hym þen: hyr care ylke a dele
 Drede noght *quod* gorge: I sall þe wonge full wele
 Thorw myght of ihesu cryste: nay syr scho sayd I rede
 Bettyr it ys þat þu fle: þen we boythe be dede 96
 Als þei þus to (gyder spake?):² þis fowll dragon þen
 Begane to lyfte vp hys hede: & ryse vp of hys den
 þe maydyn whoke for ferde: & bade þat george suld fle
 Bot george vmstrode hys hors: agayn þis beste rode
 he 100
 & hym be to toke to ihesu cryste: & blyssyde hym
 wit hys hande
 Agayne þe dragon wit herdy herte: faste he come
 rydande
 & a sper to hym sete: & hytte hym full ryghte
 & to þe erth he bar hym down: als a hardy knyght 104
 He gafe hym many a depe wonde: & refte hym all
 hys myght
 þe folke þat on þe walles lay: þai saghe þis wonder
 syghte
 George to þat maydyn sayde: when he had doyn þis dede
 Knyte þi gyrdyll abowte hys neke: & luke þu hafe
 na drede 108
 When yt was doyn abowte hys neke: þen rose þis
 full dragon
 And als a meke honde he folued hyr: furth into þe towne
 George & þis maydyn als: in to þe cyte wente
 þe folke saghe þis dragon come: þai wende all hade
 bene schent 112
 & fled aboute as mad men: & sayde allas þis day
 We er dede ylke a man: we may noght skape away
 Sayne george apon þam cryde: & bade þam hafe no drede

² The Ms. is defective and the reading uncertain at this point.

| | |
|--|-----|
| No maner of herme he may do þow: to fle yt ys no nede | 116 |
| For why my lorde jhesus: send me to þis towne | |
| To delyuer þow I wys: of þis foull dragone | |
| Turnes þow all þerfor to cryste: & baptisede þat ȝe be | |
| & þen sall I þis dragon sla: þat ȝe all may se | 120 |
| þe kyng & all hys folke: for soke þer mawmētry | |
| & crystend wer ilkon: & troede in gode haly | |
| & þen george þis nobyll knyght: hys gude swerde out droghe | |
| And þer befor all þe folke: þis foull dragon he sloghe | 124 |
| viiij oxen þai knyte to hym: & drew hym oute of towne | |
| Pfer intyll a mekyll felde: & þer þai caste hym downe | |
| xx ^{ti} m ^t men þat day wer crystende: ³ als we in story rede | |
| Witouten women & chylder: thoru þis haly dede | 128 |
| þe kyng garte rayse a fair kyrke: & craftly yt dyghte | |
| Yn þe honour of owr swete lorde: & sayn george þe knyght | 130 |

In copying this fragment, I have followed the MS. in omitting punctuation. I have retained the scribe's indication of the caesura in the middle of each verse and have added only the usual verbal expansions indicated in the text.

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ROSCOE E. PARKER.

REVIEWS

Handbuch der englisch-amerikanischen Kultur. Herausgegeben von WILHELM DIBELIUS.—OTTO BAUMGARTEN: Religiöses u. Kirchliches Leben in England. 122 pp.—HERMANN LEVY: Die englische Wirtschaft. 153 pp.—B. G. Teubner, Leipzig u. Berlin, 1922.

Das *Handbuch* will eine Übersicht über den angelsächsischen Kulturkreis geben, "allen wissenschaftlichen Ansprüchen genügen, gleichzeitig aber auch im besten Sinne des Wortes populär sein." Es will in erster Linie dem Universitätsunterricht dienen, aber nicht nur dem Philologen, sondern ebenso sehr dem Nationalökonom, Juristen und Theologen; darüber hinaus will es allen denen zur Anregung dienen, die fremde Kultur und die eigene Art

³The realing of the *Legenda Aurea* at this point is as follows: ". . . . xx milia exceptis parvulis et mulieribus." (p. 261).

vergleichend studieren möchten. Ob man im Rahmen eines *Handbuchs* zugleich wissenschaftlich und populär sein darf, ist eine grosse Frage. Methodisch wertvoll ist jedenfalls das Bemühen, durch eine Erweiterung der Sprach- und Literatur- zu einer Kulturwissenschaft, wie sie der frühere preussische Kultusminister Becker verschiedentlich geplant hat und die letzten Philologentage sie nachdrücklich fordern, den gesamten neusprachlichen Unterricht zu erneuern und den Forderungen des modernen Lebens anzupassen. In dieser Hinsicht berührt sich das *Handbuch* mit meiner Forderung in *Amerikakunde* (Angelsachsen-Verlag, Bremen, 1921).

Baumgarten benutzt "die Methode der Idealtypen" im Sinne von Burckhardts Kulturgeschichte, um der englischen Durchschnittsfrömmigkeit im staatskirchlichen und im kleinkirchlichen Typus näher zu kommen. Er unterscheidet weiter einen hochkirchlichen, einen evangelikalen, einen breitkirchlichen Typus innerhalb des Staatskirchentums, einen methodistischen, puritanischen, lebensreformerischen, chiliastischen Typus innerhalb des Freikirchentums und endlich ausserhalb der Kirchenorganisation den christlich-sozialen und den ästhetisch-religiösen Typus. Über den theologischen Teil und auch den öfter störenden Predigerton soll hier nichts gesagt werden. Dem Literaturhistoriker fällt die Kenntnis und geschickte Verwendung der englischen Literatur von Scott bis Maclaren und Mrs. H. Ward auf, wenn er auch dabei Samuel Butler und H. G. Wells vermisst. Das Hauptergebnis von Baumgartens Schrift sind geistreiche Vergleiche deutscher und englischer Verhältnisse, die besonders dem Kenner beider Seiten von Wert sind.

Levy betrachtet in 6 Abschnitten: Die Grundlagen der britischen Wirtschaftsentwicklung, England als Handelsmacht, Den englischen Industriestaat und seine Probleme, Die Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft und ihrer Probleme, Die soziale Bewegung, Neubritische Wirtschaftspolitik. Wie in der vorigen Schrift ist auch hier der geschichtliche Teil nicht immer einwandfrei, dagegen ist das Bemühen verdienstlich, gerade dem modernen sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Organismus Grossbritannien gerecht zu werden. Besonders anregend ist die Ausdeutung des *Final Report of the Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy after the War*

vom Jahre 1918. Eine vergleichende Betrachtung englischer und nordamerikanischer Verhältnisse und Probleme hätte manches noch klarer gemacht.

Ein abschliessendes Urteil erlauben diese beiden Teile des *Handbuchs* noch nicht.

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Infinitive Constructions in Old Spanish. By WILFRED A. BEARDSLEY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1921. xiv + 279 pp.

This Columbia dissertation presents a systematic and easily handled compilation of the infinitive usage in certain Old Spanish texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, namely, the *Cid*, the poems of Berceo, the *Alizandre*, and the *Crónica General*. The value of the work as a scholarly treatise is seriously impaired by the fact that the author was unaware of the existence of a similar study, that of Gustaf Liljequist, whose *Infinitiven i det fornspanska lagspråket* was published in vol. 22 of the *Acta Universitatis Lundensis* (*Lunds Universitets Års-skrift*, Lund, 1885-1886, fascicule III, pp. 1-110) and duly listed in the bibliographical supplement of the *ZRPh* for the year 1887 (vol. XI, p. 107).

Beardsley's work covers substantially the same ground as that of Liljequist, although there is no actual duplication of material, since Liljequist's examples are taken entirely from the legal literature of the thirteenth century, the *Fuero Juzgo*, the *Siete Partidas*, and the *Opúsculos Legales* of Alfonso X. The results obtained by Beardsley, or rather, the types of constructions found by him, do not differ from those already given by Liljequist, whose material is, on the whole, even more varied and abundant than the plentiful examples adduced by Beardsley.

The latter might possibly have secured greater variety of material within the same chronological period by selecting among his texts a prose work earlier than the *Crónica General* (such as the *Libro de los engannos*) or other standard texts in verse, for example, the *Apolonio* and the *Fernán González*. The advantage gained by concentrating upon the work of a single author, Berceo,

is offset by the necessity of using, except for the *Sacrificio de la Misa* and the *Santo Domingo de Silos*, the unreliable edition of Janer.

Both Beardsley and Liljequist arrange their material in the two conventional groups, (1) the direct or "pure" infinitive and (2) the prepositional infinitive, the latter group being subdivided according to the individual prepositions. This scheme, although logical and convenient, fails to bring out to best advantage the most salient characteristic of infinitive usage in Old Spanish, namely, the great variety of constructions found after governing elements, especially verbs, which in modern Spanish are followed by a fixed type of infinitive construction. For example, we find *començar* and *merescer* both construed with *de*, *a*, and the direct infinitive; *acordarse* and *trabaiarse* are followed by *de*, *a*, *en*, *por*, and the direct infinitive. The arrangement primarily according to the preposition makes it difficult for the reader to keep in mind all the constructions after a single verb, and occasionally causes some needless repetition (*e. g.*, pp. 25 and 180 in Beardsley). Beardsley chooses this arrangement in preference to one based primarily on the syntactical relationship between the infinitive and its governing element, because (p. xii) "it relates itself more readily to the facts of the modern language, the infinitive being generally thought of . . . as a dependent of its prepositional concomitant."

Liljequist lists the following types of constructions not mentioned in the Columbia dissertation: (1) The infinitive with *de* denoting 'origin' (p. 50): *esto nol vernie sinon de seer mucho fablador* SP I, 5, 47; also found after *acaescer* and *reçebir*. None of Beardsley's examples showing the *de* of 'separation' or 'cause' (pp. 131-136) can be regarded as clearly belonging to the category of 'origin.'—(2) The subject-infinitive with *en* (p. 67): *grave cosa es en caer en perjuo* ED III, 8, a; *nol abunda en creer que sera el otro salvo* SP I, 4, 79. Liljequist rightly considers this a development of the locative *ser en* = 'estar en, consistir en,' the great bulk of his examples occurring after *ser*. This use as subject-infinitive causes the infinitive in *en* also to be found occasionally as the subject of verb locutions: *habemos por derecho en loar la su honra* SD I, 3, 5 (cf. the very frequent *de*-infinitive in these uses: *desaguisada cosa es de fazer fuerza* SP I, 18, 10; *tenemos*

por derecho de mostrar las razones ED II, 1, 9). It may be added that the *en*-infinitive in these uses probably provides the model for an occasional *en que* clause of the following types: *bien deuemos creer que fue juyzio de Dios en que tu mereçiste dexar la locura de los ydolos* Cron Gen 188a, 15; *el rey . . . touo por bien al copero en que nol negara la verdad* Grande e General Estoria, VIII, 9—excerpt published by Menéndez Pidal.¹—(3) The subject-infinitive with *por*, after *ser* and a noun containing an implication of cause or purpose (p. 78): *la nuestra entencion fue e nuestro trabaio por defender la cosa*, FJ XII, 2, 1. All but a few of the examples show apposition to a preceding phrase containing *por*: *por dos razones, la una por ganar perdon* SP I, 4, 69.—(4) The subject-infinitive with *para*,² used similarly to that with *por* (p. 88): *sea en escogencia del demandador para poder demandar aquella cosa* SP III, 7, 15; *la una (razón del casamiento) es para facer fijos* SP IV, 2, a. The subject-infinitive with *para* is used after verbs other than *ser*, particularly the uni-personals: *a el conviene mas que a otro para toller el desacuerdo* SP III, 19, 3. The analogical confusion which undoubtedly causes such constructions is seen most clearly in the following: *abondal para probar la razon por dos testigos* SP III, 18, 117.—(5) The treatment of the infinitive with subject (pp. 105-110) is much fuller and more carefully arranged than that of Beardsley. He gives examples, not only of the direct infinitive and the *de*-infinitive in such usage, as does Beardsley (pp. 256-261), but also of the infinitive in *en*, *por*, *para*, and *sin*: *la penitencia es en dolerse home de los pecados* SP I, 10, 15; *por non caer en pena el nin aquel a quien fiaba, quiere pagar* SP V, 12, 14; *el meester de los vozeros es muy provechoso para seer mejor librados los pleitos* ED IV, 9, a; *son dados por los perlados sin confesarseles los homes* SP I, 4, 93. He mistakenly regards this whole construction as a survival of the Latin accusative and infinitive, whereas Beardsley very justly remarks (p. 257): "For the sake of emphasis, or to avoid ambiguity, the subject pronouns were employed with ordinary finite verb forms. What more simple than using the same pronoun for the same purpose with the infini-

¹ *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, VI, 1902, pp. 347-361.

² Liljequist's texts, published in 1807, 1815, and 1836, do not show both *pora* and *para*, as do those of Beardsley; in the former, the manuscript readings were uniformly rendered *para*.

tive?" This explanation need not be restricted to pronouns; besides, it seems to be a more simple and direct way of looking at the phenomenon than that of Diez, who regards the infinitive clause as being substituted for a clause with a finite verb (*Gr.*, III, p. 946).

Liljequist's study contains a minimum of explanatory discussion, the author's chief concern being the systematic presentation of his material. The general characteristics of each category are stated clearly and concisely, and his remarks are, with but few exceptions, well taken. His introductory statement with regard to the use of the various prepositions with the infinitive (pp. 26-28) is almost a model summary of the situation. In Beardsley's work, on the other hand, much space is devoted to his syntactical analysis, which is, on the whole, rather prolix and inconclusive, adding little to our knowledge of the essential nature of infinitive constructions. In the discussion of the individual categories, however, the following points, chiefly of a chronological nature, come to light and may justly be regarded as contributions to the subject:

(1) The *de*-infinitive as subject (*guisado es de fincar uos assy Cron* 609a, 30) and as object of verb locutions (*auien en costumbre de dexar los cabellos creçer Cron* 90a, 13) is found much more frequently in the *Crónica General* than in the other texts and is quite uncommon in the *Cid* (pp. 99-104; 137-142). The usefulness of this evidence on chronology is somewhat impaired by the failure to distinguish between those parts of the *Crónica* which differ in date.—(2) The locution *penssar de* with the infinitive, so frequent in the *Cid* (*pienssan de aguijar Cid* 10), seems to have been dying out in the *Crónica* (pp. 117-120). Although he accepts for the French Luker's³ theory of the ellipsis of a finite form of *penser de* as the basis of the "historical infinitive," Beardsley wisely refrains (p. 118) from extending this theory to the Spanish, where he finds (p. 85) but one example of that type of infinitive (*Mil* 889). No explanation of this construction is attempted, nor is there any reference to Cuervo's⁴ or Meyer-Lübke's⁵ treatment thereof.—(3) A marked increase in the use

³ *The Use of the Infinitive instead of a Finite Verb in French*, New York, 1916.

⁴ *Notas to Bello's Grammar*, § 70.

⁵ *Grammaire*, III, § 529.

of *pora* as compared with that of *por* is found for the *Crónica General* as against the situation in the *Cid*, where *pora* occurs but sporadically (p. 221).—(4) In the case of the infinitive with subject (*guisado es de fincar uos assy*), the *Crónica* employs these types much more abundantly than the *Cid* (p. 258).—(5) The expressions of the type *no lo puiera olvidar Cid* 1444, *vayamos caualgar* 1505, *pienssanse de armar* 1135, and *tornos a sonrisar* 298, of which Menéndez Pidal (*Cantar*, II, §§ 160, 161) says that “llegan á ser casi perífrasis inútil” are found to show an inceptive force and a vividness not present in the simple verb (pp. 37, 76, 118, 135, 165). *Vayamos caualgar* is compared with the French *allons chanter* (in contrast to *chantons*) and *no lo quiera olvidar* to *veuillez ne pas l'oublier*.—(6) The treatment of the infinitive governed by *auer*, *auer de*, and *auer a* (pp. 23-30; 179-190) is interesting, suggestive, and perhaps the best section in the entire book. On pp. 185-186 he takes up the question of the vocal *embebida* (*entro ala iglesia al Criador rogar SDom* 425, *ante començo el la açada buscar SDom* 726) and, unlike Fitzgerald, he—correctly enough—does not consider absorption of the *a* as operative in such cases, since both *entrar* and *començar* may be followed by the direct infinitive in Old Spanish.

At times Beardsley does not seem to utilize his material to the fullest extent. For example, in the chapter entitled (somewhat equivocally) the “Infinitive as Substantive,” we note that, in direct contrast to the situation in modern Spanish, the types *al tirar de la lança Cid* 3686 and *ell fincar de los ynoios Cron* 680a, 46 are much more common than the corresponding examples without *de* (p. 12). This might have prompted an examination of the important question whether in Old Spanish the infinitive is more frequently used with predominant noun value than in the modern speech. It might be remarked here that throughout the book (especially on pp. 13-14) there seems to be some confusion as to which of the two criteria, meaning or construction, determines the relative noun or verb value of the infinitive.* The following distinctions have not always been clearly kept in mind: the infinitive, being the *nomen actionis*, is essentially a noun and is

* On p. 74 this confusion of thought leads to a misinterpretation of the quotation from Lachmund, *Über den Gebrauch des reinen und präpositionalen Infinitivs im Altfranzösischen*.

always construed as such with reference to the elements in the sentence upon which it depends, in spite of the fact that, having acquired verb content, it frequently takes verb modifiers: subject, object, etc. The verb content of the infinitive is, in general, predominant when it has verb modifiers, and the noun content when it has noun modifiers (article, adjective, etc.), but, from the standpoint of its own construction in the sentence, the infinitive never ceases to be essentially a noun.

In this connection the treatment of the infinitive contained in the Bello-Cuervo grammar would have been found helpful, but Beardsley apparently makes little, if any, use of that work, although it is included in his bibliography. Since he states (p. xiii) that one of the aims of his study is "to aid in the comprehension of modern phenomena in the light of their origin and historical relations," it is a bit surprising to find no comparison made between the status of the infinitive construction in Old Spanish and that in the modern speech, for which the Bello-Cuervo treatment would have provided a satisfactory basis. On the contrary, Beardsley often checks up the situation in his texts with that found by Otto⁷ for the Portuguese of Camões.

The chief value of Beardsley's study lies in the comprehensive index with which it is equipped. This feature, together with the pleasing and effective arrangement of the printed page, in which rubrics, discussion, and examples are carefully differentiated typographically, renders the book convenient for ordinary reference purposes.

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L'Abbé de Saint-Réal. Etude sur les rapports de l'Histoire et du Roman au XVII^e Siècle. Par GUSTAVE DULONG. Paris: Champion, 1921. Tome I, 372 pages; Tome II, Notes et Documents, 175 pages.

Students of historical fiction are deeply indebted to M. Dulong for his admirable exposition and illustration of the conditions under which the genre developed in France. The work is done

⁷ *Der portugiesische Infinitiv bei Camões, RF. VI, 1889, pp. 299-394.*

in the best French traditions of thoroughness and readability. Every point, large or small, bearing on the subject, receives exhaustive treatment, yet the clearness and unity of the whole are never sacrificed.

A short introduction deals with the rise of conscious historical writing in the sixteenth century. The *Zeitgeist* led, on the one hand, to an attempted imitation of the ancient historians, and tended to make of history a literary genre embellished with moral dissertations; on the other, to a partisan interpretation of the past. The few self-effacing scholars who sought only the faithful editing of texts and the bare truth were ignored in favor of Paul-Emile and his disciples. At times M. D.'s judgment of the early historians seems over severe and we need to recall that Sainte-Beuve found much to admire in portions of Mézeray's work. But M. D.'s thesis required him to point out faults rather than attempt a complete estimate.

The first volume is divided into three parts: 1°. (a) Theories and practice of seventeenth century historical composition. (b) History as used by the novelists before 1670. 2°. Life and work of Saint-Réal. 3°. (a) Pseudo-historical works and historical fiction from 1670 to 1700. (b) A survey of the eighteenth century attitude toward Saint-Réal. The second volume contains correspondence of or concerning Saint-Réal, a bibliography of his works, a study of dramatic adaptations of the Dom Carlos story from Otway to Verhaeren, and an index.

The theories and practice of historical writing in the seventeenth century were those of the earlier humanists. History was considered as a province of eloquence; hence it required artistic form and admitted special pleading; as an adjunct of philosophy it implied moral teaching. "Le goût de l'analyse morale . . . induit (l'historien littéraire) à interpréter des actes qu'il connaît mal, à reconstituer, au gré de sa fantaisie, les antécédents moraux d'événements dont les sources authentiques ne donnent qu'un brut exposé. Et très vite l'on en arrive ainsi au roman." Historical fiction begins in France with *l'Astrée*. A review of the contributions by historical novelists leads to Saint-Réal who accomplished the complete fusion of history and fiction.

The biography of Saint-Réal (1643 or '44-1692) is established with remarkable completeness from his correspondence and from

scattered documents. Probably no part of M. D.'s work required more minute research. Four of Saint-Réal's works are analysed in detail, the rest passed rapidly in review. His first significant essay, *De l'Usage de l'Histoire* (1671) defines history as an "anatomie spirituelle des actions humaines," thus assigning to it the rôle which his contemporaries attributed to all art. Nowhere, he declares, can the human heart be better studied than in history. The book which most nearly conforms to the ideas here expressed is *Cesarion* (1684), but traces may be found in two more famous works, *Dom Carlos* (1672) and *La Conjuration des Espagnols contre la République de Venise* (1674). The first is responsible for the vulgarisation of the legend of Don Carlos' love for his step-mother, Elisabeth of France, and their taking off by order of Phillip II; the second, a highly dramatic account of an obscure conspiracy in 1618 which may never have existed outside the nervous brains of the Venetian councillors. Both works were written to flatter the hostile policy of Louis XIV toward Spain. M. D. compares both with the sources used by the author and subjects these sources to a critical examination. The result is a clear exposition of Saint-Réal's contribution to historical fiction. He invented little, but he is never concerned with the veracity of his sources. He used now one, now another to draw from them a coherent and living narrative. He sought not historical truth but human truth and verisimilitude based on an extensive knowledge of the period concerned. His imagination filled up the lacunas in his documents. In writing *Dom Carlos* "il avait fait choix de personnages historiques comme de types particulièrement représentatifs de cette espèce humaine dont il importait, selon lui, d'apprendre à connaître les caractères moraux essentiels." In conclusion, M. D. says: "Le roman historique, selon la formule de Saint-Réal, c'est simplement l'histoire simplifiée et allégée d'une part, d'autre part complétée et arrangée en vue de l'effet littéraire et de l'intérêt dramatique." *Dom Carlos* bears the sub-title *nouvelle historique*; *La Conjuration* casts aside the traditional form of the novel and pretends to be a serious historical work. For such it passed among the writer's contemporaries and among the majority of readers in the eighteenth century; its inaccuracies, when pointed out by critics, were easily pardoned in favor of its form. Voltaire repeatedly hailed Saint-Réal as the French Sallust.

His essential conformity to the neo-classic ideal kept his reputation alive.

Direct influence of Saint-Réal on subsequent novelists cannot be shown, and M. D. is not inclined to exaggerate it. "Saint-Réal ne compte, dans la foule des petits romanciers de la fin du XVII^e siècle, aucun disciple authentique." A number of *nouvelles historiques* are passed in review, among them *La Princesse de Clèves*, which is treated only as an unsatisfactory representation of the court of Henry II. But Mme de La Fayette has herself indicated, in a letter to Lescheraine, that it is rather a picture of her own time. A few pages are given to the *Mémoires de M. L. C. D. R.* of Gatién de Courtilz in order to show a new trend in fiction, but the real originality of this writer—the injection of a spirit of picaresque satire into the historical novel—is not made clear.

The study of the chief dramatic adaptations of the Don Carlos story is masterly. Relations of the plays to each other and to the novel of Saint-Réal are examined in detail. Most interesting is the suggestion that *Mithridate* may owe something to Saint-Réal, as it is possible that Racine had heard *Dom Carlos* read in manuscript. The omission of Nuñez de Arce's *El Haz de Leña* is regrettable, especially as this play would seem to meet M. D.'s own ideal of a legitimate treatment of the subject. A Don Carlos drama usually ascribed to-day to Ximénez de Enciso is ascribed to Montalván.¹

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Modern Czech Poetry: Selected Texts with Translations and an Introduction by P. Selver. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1920. xv + 79 pp.

We have heard much, of late, concerning the political history of Czecho-Slovakia, its new birth of freedom, its constitution, interesting and unusual in so many points, and the great wave of patriotic pride which is now drawing its people back to the rejuvenated homeland from all parts of the world. But little has been

¹ For the authorship of this play, see *La Revue Hispanique*, xxvi, p. 447, note 12.

said of the literary renaissance which began long before the political reawakening was possible, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and has been developing steadily ever since.

In the little book compiled by P. Selver, we get a glimpse of what that literary development has attained in poetry at least. It is a small, slim volume containing selections from seven of the best known Bohemian poets of the day,—merely a taste to whet the American appetite! The original text and the English translation are placed on opposite pages, this arrangement having been made (says the compiler) merely to combine literary and linguistic interests, not to make out of the book a philological work. And to those who have even a smattering of the language this should be a distinct advantage, for, tho the translations are admirable, lyric poetry suffers more than any other form of literature from change of dress. It is hard enough at best for a mind reared in Western surroundings and steeped in Western habits of thought fully to grasp Slavonic moods and emotions, the subjective matter so vital a part of lyric poetry. And the Czechs are Slavs; their poetry is full of the melancholy dreams, strange fancies, and sudden, unexpected passions characteristic of Slavonic peoples. It speaks well, therefore, for the translator as well as the poets, that so many of these poems stir the English speaking reader to a real appreciation of their beauty and worth.

The selections from Jaroslav Vrchlický are more in number than those of the other poets in the book, and rightly so, for, besides being a most gifted and prolific writer, he has been called the father of modern Czech poetry. Born in Louny, Vrchlický (pseudonym for Emil Frida) was educated at Prague, and became, later, Professor of Modern European Literature in that university. His influence on Bohemian letters was enormous, for he translated continuously from the best works of the West, and turned the tide of appreciation and imitation from the overpowering German neighbors to French, Italian, and other more distant nations. In original verse, too, he proved a voluminous and influential writer, introducing many new metres into the native prosody, and constantly encouraging national poetic self-expression. He died in 1912, leaving a large literary heritage of which, perhaps, the most widely known are three books of poems: *A Year in The South*, *Pilgrimages to Eldorado* and *Sonnets of a Recluse*. One

of the most beautiful little lyrics in *Modern Czech Poetry* is taken from the first named of these three.

LANDSCAPE

On the bare fields the trees in straggling rows
Earthward their leafless branches have outspread:
The roofs are darkened by a flock of crows,
Dusk from their wings upon the world is shed.

The sky-line's fringe in sudden redness blazed,—
It gleams with orange hues that slowly die:
Haply an angel's golden robe; he raised
Day in his arms and bore it back on high.

Quite different from Vrehlický is J. S. Machar, one of the most prominent Czech writers of the day. He is a realist, and, unlike the typical Slav poets, his most characteristic work is rebellious, satirical, and unorthodox. The seven selections from his books printed in this little anthology show a melancholy, passionate spirit, brooding rather than active.

More quiet and contemplative are the poems of Antonín Sova, full of the beauty of hills and fields, orchards and vineyards.

BY RIVERSIDES

I love moist eve by riversides
That shells abundantly adorn,
When coolness from them gently glides
And from afar white foam is borne.

I cherish there the birches most
And willows where the shadows crowd;
Shrill crickets, flies,—a dancing host,
And distant towns in fading shroud.

Fishermen there entrance my sight
In sluggish skiff that hazes veil,
Afloat mid' eve's decaying light,
When in blue mists red sunsets fail.

And when the eventide has sunk,
And on the stream the moon is reeling,
That rover of the night time, drunk
With bluish haze from waters stealing,

My rhythmic tunes I love to lace
'Mid memories and wistful thought,

While wavelets plash with muffled grace
And all my spirit is distraught.

Here, we think, is a simple soul at peace with the world but when we turn a few pages we find *Eternal Unrest*, and other poems of question and longing. His later work, we are told, shows an inner struggle which harmonizes ill with the calm beauty of the country-scenes he loved most to depict.

The four other poets represented in Selver's little book are: Petr Bezruč, Otakar Březina, Otakar Theer and Karel Toman. The first of these is famous for a single book about a single group of people. The book is *Silesian Songs*, the people the German-oppressed Czechs of the Teschen region, but his poem, *The Pitman* is for all time and all people. It is a piece of realism (too long to quote), strong, intense, with a rugged metre and pictures that are stamped indelibly on the imagination as one reads. It is like one of Rodin's figures done in words instead of marble.

Březina is difficult to understand. Selver in his introduction calls him a baffling figure and the word is apt. A veil of mystery and melancholy shrouds his strange images and descriptions. Perhaps he is peculiarly Slavic; at any rate, he seems much more remote and foreign to the Western mind than any of the other poets so far noted.

Toman and Theer, if the few selections given of each are truly characteristic, are very much alike. They both tend toward the purely subjective mood, and are rather charming and elusive. *The Sun-Dial* by Toman presents a vivid, detailed picture and well wrought emotion.

THE SUN-DIAL

A house in ruins. On the crannied walls
Moss gluttonously crawls
And lichens in a spongy rabble.

The yard is rank with nettle-thickets
And toad-flax. In the poisoned water-pit
Rats have a drinking lair.

A sickly apple tree, by lightning split,
Knows not if it bloomed e'er.

When days are clear, the whistling finches
Invade the rubble. Beaming, sunlit days
Liven the dial's arc that fronts the place,

And freakishly and gayly on its face
 Time's shadow dances
 And to the sky recites in words of gloom:
 Sine sole nihil sum.

For all is mask.

All in all the little book is worthy of thought and study. The short introduction is admirable, and if the poems selected are samples and not the cream of modern Czech poetry, we shall look for another anthology and the "more detailed account" promised in the introductory pages, without delay.

MRS. ELEANORE MYERS JEWETT.

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The Influence of Walter Scott on the Novels of Theodor Fontane,
 by L. A. SHEARS, Ph. D. New York. Columbia University
 Press, 1922. 82 pp.

Bertha E. Trebeins Columbia-Dissertation von 1916 über *Theodor Fontane as a Critic of the Drama* war eine ebenso vorzügliche wie nötige Leistung. Nun untersucht Shears' Dissertation eine andere Seite des Fontaneschen Schaffens, nämlich Scotts Einfluss, ähnlich aner kennenswert. Wo Wandrey in seinem umfassenden Buch über den Dichter (1919) behaglich über den Abgrund von Quellenuntersuchungen wandelt, da sieht Shears ein interessantes Problem und versucht, ihm so gut es geht beizukommen. Leicht ist es nicht, wie jeder Kenner Fontanes weiss: man spürt bei ihm das Wesen Scottscher Romantik sehr oft, ohne es greifen zu können. Am ertragreichsten ist noch der Vergleich von *Waverley* und *Vor dem Sturm*, wobei freilich die Abwesenheit einer gründlichen Analyse dieses Fontaneschen Romans als neue Schwierigkeit erscheint.

Der Verfasser betrachtet in 5 Abschnitten: Fontane's early interest in English literature, the journalist and England, Fontane's conception of the historical novel, with particular reference to Scott, influences of the *Waverley* Novels on Fontane's *Vor dem Sturm* und minor influences of Scott in motive and technique. Alles ist kurz und knapp und in wesentlichen Zügen dargestellt, und die Ergebnisse der Arbeit sind nicht unbeträchtlich. Sehr gut ist z. B. Fontanes Aufsatz über Alexis ausgewertet. Der Dichter

bewunderte allgemein Scotts Stil und Dialogführung und verriet in *Vor dem Sturm* Scotts Einfluss bei seinem passiven Helden, seinen Frauen und manchem in der Fabel. Hoppenmarieken gehört zum Geschlecht der Meg Merrilies (*Guy Mannering*) und der Etie Ochiltree (*Antiquary*), Seidentopf zu Oldbuck (*Antiquary*). Aber auch andere Geschichten Fontanes zeigen Scotts Einfluss, z. B. Mathilde Möhring und Jeanie Deans (*Heart of Midlothian*), Effie Briest und Effie Deans, Grete Minde und Ulrica (*Ivanhoe*) ergeben fruchtbare Vergleiche. Kleinere erzählungstechnische Ähnlichkeiten erklärt Shears mehr aus der Balladentechnik und dem Plaudererton oder dem Stil der *Wanderungen* heraus als aus Scotts "Einfluss." So nennt er Fontane in der *Form* seines Romanwerks "practically independent of Scott; it is in the *content* of his fiction he owes a debt to the British author," allerdings auch da innerhalb geringer Grenzen. Der Verfasser empfiehlt sich durch seine Zurückhaltung im Punkte des "Einflusses." Einwenden lässt sich u. a., dass die romantische Seite Fontanes nicht ganz richtig eingeschätzt ist und demzufolge auch der Einfluss von Scotts Romantik, die "a striking contrast with the more realistic body of the work" bilden soll. Das bezweifle ich. Mir scheint, gerade der romantische *Realismus* Scotts hatte es unserm Deutschen angetan! Auch macht der Verfasser seinen Schriftsteller viel unpolitischer und undemokratischer, als er in Wirklichkeit war. Für vieles im In- und Ausland hatte Fontane einfach "den Blick," wie ja auch Shears gesteht: "Indeed, Fontane looks upon Mid-Victorian England with *Thackeray's eyes* . . ." (p. 21). Was Fontane Thackeray verdankte, verlohnte sich weiter zu untersuchen.

F. SCHOENEMANN.

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CORRESPONDENCE

A TRANSLATION OF ROSSETTI'S

That Dante Gabriel Rossetti is an excellent translator, that he is one of the very few who have been able to make English poetry of poetry which was non-English, has been amply proven. *The Leaf*, one of his translations, makes no exception to this rule, but it presents an interesting and singular fact. It purports to be a transla-

tion from Leopardi;¹ but even a casual reading will show that it is a translation from Arnault and not from Leopardi.

This will be clear if we examine Arnault's *La Feuille*, Leopardi's *Imitazione*, and Rossetti's *The Leaf*.

(ARNAULT)

"De ta tige détachée,
Pauvre feuille desséchée,
Où vas-tu?"—Je n'en sais rien.
L'orage a brisé le chêne
Qui seul était mon soutien.
De son inconstante haleine,
Le zéphyr ou l'aquilon
Depuis ce jour me promène
De la forêt à la plaine,
De la montagne au vallon:
Je vais où le vent me mène,
Sans me plaindre ou m'effrayer;
Je vais où va toute chose,
Où va la feuille de rose
Et la feuille de laurier!

(LEOPARDI)

"Lungi dal proprio ramo,
Povera foglia frale,
Dove vai tu?" "Dal faggio
Là dov'io nacqui, mi divide il
vento.
Esso, tornando, a volo
Dal bosco alla campagna,
Dalla valle mi porta alla mon-
tagna.
Seco perpetuamente
Vo pellegrina, e tutto l'altro
ignoro.
Vo dove ogni altra cosa,
Dove naturalmente
Va la foglia di rosa,
E la foglia d'alloro."

(ROSSETTI)

"Torn from your parent bough,
Poor leaf all withered now,
Where go you?" "I cannot tell.
Storm-stricken is the oak-tree
Where I grew, whence I fell.
Changeful continually,
The zephyr and hurricane
Since that day bid me flee
From deepest woods to the lea,
From highest hills to the plain.
Where the wind carries me
I go without fear or grief:
I go whither each one goes,
Thither the leaf of the rose
And thither the laurel-leaf."

Leopardi's version is not very close to the original and he himself is first to warn us by calling it an imitation. But Rossetti's, which is supposedly a translation of Leopardi's, is not a translation of the Italian poem at all. It is not merely that Rossetti's version is more nearly like Arnault's, it is actually a fine and close translation of it. The French poet's third verse says:

"Où vas-tu?—Je n'en sais rien."

This "Je n'en sais rien" is omitted entirely by Leopardi, but translated by Rossetti: "I cannot tell." Then too Leopardi's tree

¹ Cf. *The Collected Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, London, Ellis and Elvey, 1890, II, 518.

is a beech, that of Arnault and Rossetti is an oak. Various other things could be pointed out to show that Leopardi's poem is, as he says, an imitation rather than a translation, and that Rossetti's is a translation of Arnault's, not of Leopardi's—but the reader of the three poems can see it all for himself. What probably happened, in Rossetti's case is that, having found the Italian poem in an edition of Leopardi, he found the French original in the footnotes (as I find it in the edition before me), translated this latter, and yet gave us Leopardi as his source.

ALBERT EDMUND TROMBLY.

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A NEGLECTED PORTRAIT OF MME DE LA FAYETTE

M. d'Haussonville, in his biography of Mme de La Fayette, gives a special appendix entitled *Les Portraits de Mme de La Fayette*.¹ In it he states that the thirteen engravings or lithographs in the Cabinet d'Estampes, representing the author of the *Princesse de Clèves*, have no common likeness. Ferdinand has contributed to this collection four different portraits, and M. d'Haussonville finally chooses one of these as frontispiece to his book, adding in justification of its ugliness that no one except the Cardinal de Retz ever said that Mme de La Fayette was pretty.

Costar, Loret, Scarron, Ménage, Mme de La Fayette herself, declared that she was pretty, yet every portrait frontispiece to her biography or her works is either a picture drawn from the imagination of a modern artist who never saw her, or a contemporary portrait of surpassing ugliness.

Meanwhile there hangs on the wall of a room in the Château of Chambord, a portrait by a seventeenth century artist who has portrayed her as a woman past her prime, but by no means ugly.

The figure is three-quarter length, seated, turned to the right; the dress of plum coloured velvet with mauve high lights, the mantle reddish brown with a sheen of old gold; the arm chair old rose. By the side of the chair, on the right of the Countess, is a table covered with a cloth; on the table a pair of white gloves.

This portrait is the work of René Houasse, generally known as René Antoine Houasse the elder. He was born at Paris in 1645—and was therefore eleven years younger than Mme de La Fayette. Pupil of Lebrun, member of the Academy, professor and director of the Academy, director of the Ecole de Rome, he was an artist of no mean reputation, and his works are to be seen in the Louvre, at Versailles, and in the art galleries of Orléans and Grenoble.

¹Le Comte d'Haussonville, *Mme de La Fayette*, Paris, 1896 (2e edit.), p. 221.

Knowing that Chambord was the residence of Gaston d'Orléans and of the Grande Mademoiselle, we are tempted to conclude that this portrait early found a place on the walls. Such cannot be the case, however, for Chambord suffered severely during the Revolution. The district of Blois ordered the sale of the furniture. The art treasures were dispersed in a few days, the very panellings were stripped from the walls, and the floors taken up. The beautifully panelled doors were burned in the sale room, as were the frames of the pictures. The canvasses were sold. Some articles of furniture were bought by local gentry, and they remained in the district.²

The grandson of Charles X, the Duke of Bordeaux, spent the revenues of the estate in restoring the Château, and his successors have followed his excellent example.

M. Henri Marais, the present administrator of Chambord, is of the opinion that this portrait came there with eight others, from the Château of Rosny, the property of the Duchess of Berry.

It is to be hoped that, in justice to Mme de La Fayette, it will in future be reproduced as an authentic contemporary portrait, and that it will replace the unworthy caricatures that have heretofore done duty as frontispieces to her works.³

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AN EPIGRAM ERRONEOUSLY ASCRIBED TO VOLTAIRE

In Vol. x of the Moland edition of Voltaire's works (p. 470) is found an epigram of eight lines against Lamotte Houdart, which refers to his mistake in attributing, in 1714, the prize of the Académie Française to an ode by the Abbé du Jarry, remembered as the famous author of the immortally absurd line: "Et des pôles brûlants jusqu'aux pôles glacés":

Lamotte, présidant aux prix
Qu'on distribue aux beaux esprits,
Ceignit de couronnes civiques
Les vainqueurs des jeux olympiques:
Il fit un vrai pas d'écolier,
Et prit, aveugle agonothète,
Un chêne pour un olivier,
Et du Jarry pour un poète.

It is quite likely that the epigram was attributed to Voltaire only because he was in 1714 the unhappy competitor of the Abbé du Jarry for the poetical distinction which Lamotte refused him then: the crown of the Académie. It is well known that Voltaire

² M. de La Saussaye, *Le Château de Chambord* (10e éd.), Blois, 1865.

³ The portrait is reproduced in photogravure as frontispiece to the author's *Mme de La Fayette, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Cambridge University Press, 1922.

showed considerable resentment for the victory of the prolific abbé, and wrote his *Bourbier* in ridicule of his judges. The epigram appeared for the first time in the *Collection complète des Œuvres de M. de Voltaire*. (1764, XII, 380.) It has remained since that time in the works of Voltaire, although Beuchot expressed doubt in the following note as to the correctness of the attribution: "Les éditeurs de Kehl, en réimprimant, dans le tome XLIX de leur édition in 8°, la lettre de Voltaire aux auteurs de la *Bibliothèque française*, du 20 septembre, 1736, y ajoutèrent en note ces huit vers, avec les mots: "*Cette note est ajoutée.*" Je les introduisis en 1823 dans une édition des *Poésies de Voltaire*. Mais je doute aujourd'hui qu'il en soit l'auteur, et crois qu'ils appartiennent à Gacon."¹

That Beuchot's impression about the authorship of this epigram was reliable is proved by the fact that one of Gacon's works, the *Homère Vengé* of 1715, contains this small poem with but two minor changes in wording. Instead of lines five and six we read there:

Le ridicule fut entier,
Il prit, aveugle agonetète.

This epigram is, then, by Gacon, and it is certainly not astonishing to find him at war with Lamotte when one remembers that the *Homère Vengé* contains repeated attacks against him, and that, later on, he published *Les Fables de M. Houdart de Lamotte, traduites en vers français*.

As to the subject matter of the epigram, it should be noticed that it ridicules a mistake that Lamotte is said to have made in pronouncing the discourse for the crowning of the Abbé du Jarry. He spoke of the crown of oak, emblem of civic virtue, instead of the crown of laurel, symbol of poetic victories. Beuchot in a footnote to line four states that he did not find any record of this mistake of Lamotte in the *Recueil des harangues de l'Académie française*. That Lamotte actually did make it is quite likely if we can take as evidence the few lines, which, in Gacon's *Homère Vengé* precede the epigram: "Mais comment auriez-vous pu réussir à représenter dignement Achille distribuant les prix du ceste, de la course, et de la lutte, vous qui avez si mal distribué ceux de la poésie pendant votre direction à l'Académie Française? Des personnes savantes et judicieuses ayant remarqué que dans le discours que vous prononçâtes sur ce sujet, vous couronnâtes de chêne les vainqueurs des jeux olympiques, et que la pièce qui eut le prix était pitoyable en tout sens; on vous décocha cette épigramme."²

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¹ Voltaire, *Œuvres*, x, 470.

² Gacon, *Homère Vengé*, p. 431.

THREE NOTES ON LOWELL

(1) I am unable to find in any edition of Lowell's works a sonnet on Dickens contributed by the Cambridge poet to *Appleton's Journal* for November 12, 1870 (iv, p. 591); nor do I find any mention of it in Mr. G. W. Cooke's very valuable bibliography of Lowell.¹ The sonnet is entitled, simply, "Charles Dickens," and is signed "J. R. Lowell." It appears under the head of "Miscellany," and hence is not listed in the table of contents. The opening lines run as follows:

A man of genius, simple, warm, sincere,
He left a world grown kindlier than he came;
His hand the needy knew, but not his name;
Dumb creatures snuffed a friend when he drew near.

At the time of the publication of the poem, Robert Carter, Lowell's friend of *Pioneer* days, was editor of *Appleton's*. Carter had written Lowell in March, 1870 (see Scudder's *Life of Lowell*, II, p. 144), requesting contributions from him, but apparently this sonnet was the only thing sent. The poem bears marks of hasty composition, a circumstance which will suffice to explain Lowell's decision not to admit it into his collected writings.

(2) Another Lowell item which seems to me worthy of bibliographical record, but which I do not find mentioned in any of the bibliographical lists accessible to me, is an advance notice of *A Fable for Critics* published in the *Literary World* for October 7, 1848 (III, pp. 706-7).² This notice is of special interest by reason of the fact that it contains upwards of a hundred lines of Lowell's satire (the opening lines on "Daphne treeified" and the passages devoted to Dana and Cooper) here published nearly three weeks before the actual publication of the satire in book form. The editor of the *Literary World* was another early friend of Lowell's, Evert A. Duyckinck, who, it will be recalled, is graciously described in the *Fable* as a scholar and critic "Who through Grub Street the soul of a gentleman carries."

(3) It has not been suggested, so far as I have observed, that Lowell in several of his poems wrote under the influence of Emerson. But Lowell's "Sphinx" (1841) was evidently prompted by Emerson's well known poem of similar title³; and "Out of Doors"

¹ *A Bibliography of James Russell Lowell*. Compiled by George Willis Cooke, Boston, 1906.

² Entitled "New Hits at Authors."

³ Emerson's "The Sphinx" was first published in the *Dial* for January, 1841; Lowell's "Sphinx" was first published in *A Year's Life*, which came off the press, as nearly as I can make out, in the third or fourth week of January, 1841. The *Dial* for January, 1841, probably appeared in December, 1840. Lowell may have read Emerson's poem there, or possibly he had seen it in manuscript before publication. In *A Year's Life* "Sphinx" appears at the very end of the miscellaneous poems (before a collection of sonnets, which concludes the volume).

(1850) is unmistakably Emersonian both in theme and in manner. Other early poems that possibly owe something to Emerson are "To Perdita, Singing" (1842), "Ode" (1842), "The Landlord" (1847), "Bibliolatres" (1849), and "The Fountain of Youth" (1853).

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Lycidas AND THE PLAY OF *Barnavelt*

In *MLN.*, December, 1922 (XXXVII, 470-3), Professor Louis Wann comments upon a supposed "striking parallel" between *Lycidas* and *Barnavelt*. A passage in that play, in the text of Bullen, 1883, contains the line: "That last infirmity of noble minds." Professor Wann speculates upon the possible connections between Milton and Massinger, for the play existed only in MS. till Bullen printed it in his *Collection of Old English Plays*; and he asks: "What are the conceivable explanations of this parallel?" He concludes that it is inexplicable. As a matter of fact, it is a very simple matter. When Bullen published his *Collection* Swinburne at once called attention to this striking and downright plagiarism (*The Athenaeum*, March 10, 1883, page 314), and in the following number of the same journal (March 17, page 342) Bullen replied shamefacedly that the line from *Lycidas*, which he had scribbled in the margin of a proof-sheet as a parallel in thought to Massinger's lines, had through a printer's blunder found its way into the text of *Barnavelt*. That is the whole story. It may be added, however, that in 1907, in the course of some correspondence on Milton's line in *The Spectator* (January 19, page 87; January 26, page 137 f.; February 9, page 211), a writer signing himself "G" (at the last reference) cited this same supposed parallel, depending upon Bullen's text. "G" was suffered to go uncorrected.¹

Professor Wann says that he has examined Milton's writings for allusions to the English drama; earlier in his article he states that with the exception of the passage from *Barnavelt* "Milton can in no case be charged with downright plagiarism—a word for word transplanting." In lieu of the plagiarism of which I have deprived him I offer him one long since noted by Swinburne: Middleton's "Dropt from the opening eyelids of the morn" (*A Game at Chess*, I, i, 79), which, with the change of "dropt from" to "under," reappears in *Lycidas*.

Bryn Mawr College.

SAMUEL C. CHEW.

¹ After Dr. Chew's communication was received, a new edition of *Barnavelt* arrived from Amsterdam. The editor, Dr. W. P. Frijlinck, properly excludes the line from the text and in her notes reports Bullen's extraordinary experience with the line, but supplies no references for this information, which is most conveniently given by Bullen, III, p. vi.

Moby Dick AND RABELAIS

In the light of the recent interest in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*, I should like to draw attention to the parallelisms between Chapter xli, *The Whiteness of the Whale*, in that book and Book I, Chapter x of Rabelais, *Of That Which is Signified by the Colours White and Blue*. The following are the most strikingly similar passages:¹

Moby Dick

"... and though besides all this, whiteness has been even made significant of gladness" —p. 163

"... for among the Romans a white stone marked a joyful day—" —p. 163

"... though in the Vision of St. John, white robes are given to the redeemed, and the four-and-twenty elders stand clothed in white before the great white throne, and the Holy One that sitteth there white like wool—" —p. 164

"... whiteness... contributes to the daily state of kings and queens drawn by milk-white steeds—" —p. 164

"... there yet lurks an elusive something in the innermost idea of this hue, which strikes more of panic to the soul than that redness which affrights in blood." p. 164

Rabelais

"... by white all the world hath understood joy, gladness, mirth, pleasure, and delight." —p. 39

"... by white, nature would have us understand joy and gladness" —p. 41

"... In former times the Thracians and Cretans did mark their good, propitious, and fortunate days with white stones—" —p. 39

"With the like colour of vesture did St. John the Evangelist, Apoc. 4. 7, see the faithful clothed in the heavenly and blessed Jerusalem." —p. 40

"... when any man, after he had vanquished his enemies, was by decree of the senate to enter into Rome triumphantly, he usually rode in a chariot drawn by white horses: which in the ovation triumph was also the custom—" —p. 40

"... the lion, who with his only cry and roaring affrights all beasts, dreads and feareth only a white cock—" —p. 40

Considering the above, there can be little doubt as to the literary provenience of Melville's chapter.

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¹ Herman Melville, *Moby Dick*; Everyman's Library, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. *The Works of Rabelais*; translated by Urquhart and Motteux, Chalon Edition, London.

Romance of the Rose, 1705

One prop of the argument that all of the *Romance of the Rose* as we have it is not Chaucer's is Skeat's reading of line 1705:

| | |
|---|------|
| For it so wel was enlumyned | 1695 |
| With colour reed, as wel [y]-fyned | |
| As nature couthe it make faire. | |
| And it had leves wel fourre paire, | |
| That Kinde had set through his knowing | |
| Aboute the rede rose springing. | 1700 |
| The stalke was as risshe right, | |
| And theron stood the knoppe upright, | |
| That it ne bowed upon no syde. | |
| The swote smelle sprong so wyde | |
| That it dide al the place aboute— | 1705 |
| Whan I had smelled the savour swote, etc. | |

On line 1705 Skeat remarked (*Works of Chaucer*, i, p. 164, n.), "Th. dyed (for dide, wrongly). 1705, 6. A false rime; l. 1705 is incomplete in sense, as the sentence has no verb. Here the genuine portion ends. L. 1706 is by another hand."

Skeat asserted that Thynne's *dyed* is wrong, but did not prove it to be so. He made *dide* an auxiliary verb, thus leaving the line incomplete. But the line gave no difficulty to editors of the folios. Down to and including Urry *dide*, *diede*, *dyde*, meant Mod. Eng. *dyed*. The rose not only illumined, but it also fragrantly dyed the place all about. Skeat's dash after the line is wholly gratuitous. Dogmatism about phonology or inconsistent rhymes in a MS. so late as Glasgow, to say nothing of the text of the First Folio, bears a heavy burden of proof. To wrench syntax when a line makes sense and better poetry than the original

Toute la place replenist

seems to me to be indefensible.

There is no problem in form or meaning of M. E. *dien*, *dyen*, to dye. NED. shows that the distinction between *die* and *dye* is recent.

W. P. REEVES.

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THE SOURCE OF *The Courtier's Calling*

The Courtier's Calling is one of the most interesting of the late English books of courtesy. It was published in London in 1675, with no more precise indication of the author's identity than the phrase, "By a gentleman of quality." That the book descended more or less directly from French sources, however, is obvious. Its author writes as a man of the world, disparaging learning and valuing most a superficial culture and the knack of succeeding. The fine old ideal of Castiglione, in short, has yielded place to the

less noble ideals of a Chesterfield. I have recently compared the copy of *The Courtier's Calling* owned by the Elizabethan Club of Yale University with a copy of Jacques de Callières' *La Fortune des Gens de Qualité et des Gentilshommes* (1665) in the Yale Library, and have found that the one is only a literal translation of the other. The French work was published first in 1658. Its author was a famous French general, and many English gentlemen in Paris, especially during the Interregnum, must have read his work with interest. To name the English translator, therefore, is impossible. But I have been helped in my study of the books of etiquette and courtesy in general by coming to know the origin of *The Courtier's Calling*, and the information may be of interest and value to others.

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BRIEF MENTION

The Principles of English Versification, by Paull Franklin Baum (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1922. viii, 215 pp.). The closing paragraph of this book might be taken as a text for a discourse. The disputatious attitude of the prosodists and the inconclusiveness of their theories is declared, with an implication that the present author may prove to be especially trustworthy: "Professional prosodists doubt and dispute one another with the zeal and confidence of metaphysicians and editors of classical texts. They are all blind guides—perhaps even the present one!—if followed slavishly." The second portion of the paragraph illustrates the author's mode of reasoning with terms that he has not defined in the specifically required manner: "There is only one means (a threefold unity) to the right understanding of the metrical element in poetry: a knowledge of the simple facts of metrical form, a careful scrutiny of the existent phenomena of ordinary language rhythms, and a study of the ways in which the best poets have fitted the one to the other with the most satisfying and most moving results." The meaning seems to be that the prosodists have been deficient in elementary knowledge and perceptions. This is the more surprising if it be true that "the technique of versification is a mechanical thing to be learned like any mechanical thing" (p. 202 f.), for it should then, like all mechanical activities, present no insurmountable obstructions to complete description and average apprehension.

As to the fundamental requirement of rhythm in versification, one may, with no serious disadvantage, designate it a mechanical requirement. On the contrary, an unswerving acceptance of what

the designation rightly signifies—namely, that rhythm is an inviolable requirement of the intended melody of a line—would dispel many a subjective delusion with reference to versification and clarify the eristic atmosphere attending the subject.

To insist on a subjectively preferred reading when the question at issue is the notation of the sustained rhythm of the line, is to confuse the issue beyond recovery for true analysis and for practical instruction. The mere making of verses—versification—as a conventional art must be studied objectively and historically, for it is conditioned by the objective and historic facts of the language involved. The long history of English poetry, let us say of iambic and trochaic movements, proves beyond any slightest degree of warranted controversy that the poets from Chaucer to Tennyson have, without capricious deviation aimed to write each line rhythmically, according to the rhythm-signature and in accordance with recognizable and historic principles of the language; and this long history yields not a shred of evidence of any other structural tenet.

Plainly all iambic verses are constructed so that the iambic movement will be sustained thru the entire verse. The historically valid permission to begin a verse without the 'up beat' (direct attack), or by an inversion of the first foot can of course not be disallowed; but these conventional variations allow the prompt resumption of the regular rhythm. What remains to be observed is the history of the consistent manner of versifying the language. That manner discloses the laws and characteristics of the accentuation of the language when it is subjected to artistic exigencies. In simple terms, the poet's artistic use of the language differs at many points from its usual use in prose, and this difference must be minutely observed, if the art of versification is to be completely understood.

One aspect of the structural difference between poetry and prose lies in the difference between the strict rhythm of the one and the avoidance of strict rhythm of the other. Obviously the regular recurrence of stress on the alternate syllable requires a conventionalized and straitened use of the language—*gebundene Rede*—which elicits a wider range of accents (available for stress) than is usually recognized in prose-utterance. But how is this wider range of available accents and marks of emphasis to be clearly disclosed? The answer is plainly given in the regular scansion of a sufficient number of lines from the principal poets (beginning with Chaucer). All the syllables stressed in this scansion will then be easily grouped into those classes of accent and emphasis which have always been and still are available for ictus. The structural analysis of the versified language is thus given; no other method can possibly yield a completely trustworthy result. And the method irrefutably confirms the artistic validity of scanning according to the rhythm-signature.

The disapproval of invariable scansion according to the rhythm-signature is not supported by a corresponding theory in favor of infringing upon the time-signature in music. This variable mode of scansion is therefore proved to be untenable by the analogy of the proper 'reading' of a musical composition. Viewed from other angles it is also conclusively untenable. It is untenable because it exalts the sense-emphases of prose above the more subtle sense-emphases of poetry. The rhetoric of verse is suppressed in favor of the rhetoric of prose. This often occasions a loss in the finest apprehension of the poet's articulation of the thought. The chief argument urged in support of this 'prosing' of poetry reposes on what its advocates hold to be an æsthetic incongruity between invariably regular rhythm and a required variation from monotony of movement.

Regular rhythm in versification is a useful figure to designate a succession of equal time-units and a consequent regular recurrence of the verse-stresses; but language has characteristics of utterance and movement that set its rhythm free from the strict requirements of regular rhythm as described in the physical laboratory. For example, 'regular recurrence' in versification does not exclude a great variety of interjected pauses, and the recurrent stresses are not required to be of equal 'weight.' This diversity of 'weight' both of the stressed and of the unstressed parts of the 'feet' imparts that 'variety' to the movement, the melody, of the lines which so many modern prosodists do not rightly recognize. And the poets have thru the centuries found this 'variety' adequate to their art. The task of the prosodist is therefore made clear. He must tabulate the words and syllables that the poets have admitted under the stress. This will disclose the rhythmic permissibilities of the language, reveal the less obvious characteristics of prosodic stress, and release the true and artistic method of reading poetry from all uncertainties. This result, the only valid result, is obscured by that subjective method of scansion which substitutes a fancied type of 'variety' in the melody of a line for what is plainly offered by the poet. The 'fancied variety' does not sustain the artistic mood, but clips the wings of artistic elevation and breaks the movement to the pedestrian gait of prose.

Dr. Baum entitles one of his chapters "Melody, Harmony, and Modulation," but does not define these terms so as to make them definitely serviceable in describing the qualities of artistically versified language. By melody should be meant the 'tune' of a line, and harmony should signify the agreement in mood and movement of successive lines. It is the structural technique of the melody that must be expounded in accordance with the principles of a prosodic stress innately characteristic of the language. And the historic principles of prosodic stress, inherent in the language, can be completely revealed not by a rhetorical reading but only by the

scansion required by the rhythm-signature. Dr. Baum does not consistently recognize the historic facts of stress disclosed by the unswervingly rhythmic reading, and thus encounters contradictions from which he believes to make an adroit escape. He invites attention to the line (*Par. Lost*, I, 273),

Which but th' Omnipotent none could have foil'd,

and comments thus: "Here to stress distinctly *but*, *-tent*, *could* utterly ruins both the meaning and the music of the line; to utter the words as though they were ordinary prose would preserve the meaning, but destroy the verse-movement. In Milton's ear, however, and in ours, if we do not resist, there is a subtle syncopation of four beats against five. (Of course syncopation alone does not explain the rhythm of this line.)" To Milton's ear the line was strictly iambic; that is not to be doubted.

That English stresses partake in varying proportions of expiratory force, duration, and pitch (a variation that may be increased by the preference or practice of the individual reader), is duly acknowledged by Dr. Baum, but that merely contributes to the variety of the melodies and does not disturb the regularity of the rhythm. Dr. Baum supports this conclusion: "While the formal pattern remains fixed and inflexible, over its surface may be embroidered variations of almost illimitable subtlety and change; but *always the formal pattern must be visible, audible*. The poet's skill lies largely in preserving a balance of the artistic principles of variety in uniformity and uniformity in variety. Once he lets go the design, he loses his metrical rhythm and writes mere prose. Once we cease to hear and feel the faint regular beatings of the metronome we fail to get the enjoyment of sound that it is the proper function of metre to give" (p. 54). Now, that is perfectly sound and in complete accord with the 'scansion' that has been advocated in this notice. But Dr. Baum does not adhere to his formula, when he finds the regular beat of the metronome destroys the music of the line cited above from Milton. Again, when he observes that some stresses may be dominantly strong in a line and "others so light as to be hardly felt," which cannot mean according to the formula quoted that they are *not* sufficiently felt, he adds: "Thus it happens sometimes that in a 5-stress line there are actually only four or three stresses: the rhythmic result being a syncopation of four or three against five" (p. 194). This notion of syncopation has proved a serious disadvantage to the treatise.

The purpose of this notice has been to re-state the writer's conviction with reference to the elements of our English versification, and to show that in his clever, and at many points soundly and attractively instructive treatise, Dr. Baum has not with complete consistency set forth the same doctrine.

J. W. B.

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A LETTER FROM M. LANSON

UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS
ÉCOLE NORMALE SUPÉRIEURE

Paris, le 5 Decembre, 1922
45, rue d'Ulm

Messieurs

J'ai reçu l'histoire de la Littérature française des MM. Nitze et Dargan que vous avez eu l'amabilité de m'envoyer. Je l'ai examinée: c'est un ouvrage très bien fait, bien informé, judicieux, clairement distribué, et je ne doute pas qu'il va contribuer efficacement à répandre la connaissance et le goût de la littérature française parmi les étudiants et le public des États Unis et des pays de langue anglaise.

Veuillez recevoir, Messieurs, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

(signé) G. LANSON.

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